A NARRATIVE OF THE PRINCIPAL ACTIONS Occurring in the WARS BETWIXT *Sueden* and *Denmark*.

Before and after the *ROSCHILD* TREATY:

WITH

The Counsels and Measures by which those Actions were directed:

Together with

A View of the *Swedish* and other Affairs, as they stood in *Germany* in the year 1675. with Relation to *England*.

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A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

PRINCIPAL ACTIONS

Occurring in the

WARS

FOR

The Right Honourable

THE

EARL of *BRISTOL.*

My Lord,

I *Esteem it as a singular favour and honour that your Lordship thinks me capable of giving you any information concerning the Northern Affairs; the Scene of your Lordships many eminent Employments and Actions having been laid nearer the warm Sun. The Draught I have here sent was made several years since, and only communicated in private with*

some friends: In the composing whereof I was not a little advantaged by being a spectator of the Actions, and privy to some of the Counsels of both Kings. But how far I have answered those advantages in the ensuing Narrative I submit to your Lordship's Censure, and remain

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most humble and

Obedient Servant,

Philip Meadowe.

Parham in Suff. Sep. 24. 1675.

A NARRATIVE OF THE PRINCIPAL ACTIONS Occurring in the WARS BETWIXT *SUEDEN* and *DENMARK*.

Before and after the *ROSCHILD* TREATY.

With the Counsels and measures by which those Actions were directed.

THE ancient Emulation and jealousies betwixt the two Crowns of *Sueden* and *Denmark*, occasioned by their near Neighbourhood and frequent Wars, have been still heightned and promoted by the late

late Conqueſts the Crown of *Sueden* has made in *Germany*. By which the *Suede* enlarging his Dominion beyond the *Baltic* to thoſe goodly poſſeſſions of *Pomeren* and *Bremen*, has betwixt his ancient Patrimony on one ſide, and his new acquiſitions on the other, as it were encloſed and beleaguered *Denmark*. The fatal effects of a *Suediſh* Power eſtabliſhed on this ſide the *Baltic*, the *Dane* experimented in the year 1643. in the Reign of *Chriſtiern* the fourth, when upon occaſion of ſome differences ariſing betwixt the two Crowns in relation to the commerce and navigation of each others ſubjects, and the new impoſitions exacted by the *Dane* in the *Sound*, Queen

Chriſtina

Christina without any previous denunciation of War sent secret Orders to General *Torstenson*, who at that time commanded the *Suedish* Army in *Germany*, to invade therewith the *Danish* Dominions, which that wise General performed with such secrecy and diligence, that the first intelligence of his attempt was brought to *Copenhagen* by the ordinary post, advertising how the *Suede* was entred *Holstein* with an Hostile Army. In that war the *Dane* lost *Halland*, *Jempterland*, *Gothland* and the *Oesel*. For though *Halland* by the Treaty at *Broomsborow* was not formally alienated from the Crown of *Denmark*, as it was in the succeeding *Roschild* Treaty, but only mortga-

ged or leaſed to *Sueden* for thirty years; leſt the reputation of *Denmark* ſhould ſeem too much proſtituted by the utter abſciſſion and diſmembring of ſo conſiderable a Province from that Crown; yet was it ſuch a mortgage as in truth did amount to an abſolute ceſſion or alienation; For the term of years when expired was made renewable from thirty to thirty, till the *Suede* ſhould receive an equivalent for *Halland* to his own liking and ſatisfaction.

A Peace being thus reeſtabliſhed in the year 1644. by the Treaty made at *Broomsborow* upon the Frontier of both Kingdoms, things continued quiet betwixt the two Crowns for ſome

ſome years, till the late *Charles Guſtavus* King of *Sueden* in the year 1655. imbarquing himſelf in a war againſt *Poland*, tranſported thither the choiceſt of the *Swediſh* ſouldiery to ſerve in that expedition; where that martial King carried all before him, but graſped at more than he could well encloſe, and conquered more than he could reaſonably hope to keep, till at length old *Zarnetsky* makes head againſt him with a powerful body of horſe, and by his example the newly ſubmitted Provinces revolt as quickly from their new Lord, inſomuch that the *Swede* was embaraſs'd on all ſides, and his affairs in great decadency.

This conjuncture gratified the

Dane, who thought his turn was now come to retaliate upon the *Suede*, and hoped by the favour of this opportunity to regain what he had loſt in the former ſurpriſes. And to give the better colour of juſtice to his Arms, leſt it ſhould be thought he was rather invited thereto by the advantage of the occaſion, then conſtrained by the cauſe of any new provocations or injuries, open war is ſolemnly proclaimed againſt *Sueden* by the antiquated formalities of a Herald. Beſides public letters and manifeſts are ſent abroad to ſatisfy forein Princes and States, and to vindicate the Right of his undertaking.

The truth is, the Party was not ill

ill concerted, for the *Brandenburger* was already drawn off from the *Suediſh* Alliance, and upon good aſſurance given him from the *Poliſh* Court, that the Soverainty of the Ducal *Pruſſia* ſhould be conferred upon him (which he accordingly now enjoys) He confederated himſelf with the *Pole* and *Dane* againſt *Sueden*. The *Hollander* alſo was of the party, though as yet but covertly, and great ſums of money were advanced by *Amſterdam* and the trading Companies (for they would not have it ſeem the Act of the States but of private perſons) by way of loan to the King of *Denmark* upon ſecurities of the Cuſtoms in the *Sound* and *Norway*.

The

The *Dane* raiſed a conſiderable Army of about fifteen or ſixteen thouſand men well appointed, rendeſvous'd them in *Holſtein*, from thence paſſed the *Elb*, beſieged and took *Bremerford* a Town belonging to the *Suede* in the Biſhoprick of *Bremen*. But here ſome military men took the freedom to blame the *Daniſh* Conduct. For had he carried the war on the other ſide of the *Baltic*, entred *Sueden* it ſelf, at that time diſfurniſhed of her principal Officers and Souldiers, her King being abſent in a remote Countrey, reported to be dead, the very terrour of an invading Army might have wrought ſuch conſternation in the minds of the people, as probably

bably to have given the *Dane* an opportunity of advancing the war as high as *Stockholm*. But he on the contrary attacks the *Sueditſh* Dominions in *Germany*, thereby alarming friends as well as enemies: For the Princes of the nether *Saxon* Circle entring into a combination declare this invaſion of the Biſhoprick to be a breach of the Peace of the Empire, and a violation of the *Inſtrumentum Pacis* concluded at *Munſter*, for the obſervation whereof they ſtood reciprocally Engaged.

Thus, not waging war in good earneſt, the *Dane* by middle Counſels loſt his opportunity, for whilſt his Army ſtood at a gaze not well knowing which way

way to take, the King of *Sueden* marches with all imaginable ſpeed from *Poland*, and laying all in aſhes behind him to ſecure his rear from the inſal of the *Poliſh* horſe, and leaving ſtrong Garriſons in *Thorren*, *Marienburg*, *Elbing* and ſome other Towns in *Pruſſia*, paſſes through *Pomeren* and marches directly for *Holſtein* and *Jutland*. It was generally conceived that now, if ever, the *Dane* would have fought him haraſſed and tired as he was with a tedious march. But the new Levies durſt not adventure the ſhock with veteran Troups, uſed to fight and uſed to conquer. The *Daniſh* Army plies and yields ground before the *Suede* without fighting, who purſues his

his point and increaſes in numbers as he does in fame, all things favouring the victorious. The *Danes* diminiſhing as faſt gave back till they came to *Fredericſode* in *Jutland*, where they ſheltred the remainder of their Infantry, having left Garriſons behind them in *Gluckſtad*, *Cremp* and *Rensburg*. The Horſe were tranſported into *Funen* an Iſland oppoſite to *Fredericſode*, ſo that the *Suede* was left abſolute Maſter of the Campagne, and poſſeſſed of the convenient quarters of *Holſtein* and *Jutland*. Some of the Inhabitants conveyed the richeſt part of their goods to *Wenſuſſel* an Iſland on the North of *Jutland*, and to *Samſoe*, another near adjoyning Iſle, both

which

which became ſoon after prize to the Victors.

Fredericſode was now beſieged by General *Wrangel*, a new Town endowed with a large Charter of Privileges to invite dwellers and Trade, fortified according to the modern way with Baſtions, falſe bray, and ditch, but the works not fully finiſhed. The Circumvallations deſcribe a bow or ſemicircle, and the little *Belt* running by it, the chord.

To the *Belt*-ſide it was not fortified at all, no more than by the water and channel, only the two baſtions upon the two extremities of the ſemicircle were ſet as far into the bed of the River as conveniently they could be,

be, and then from the corner of each baſtion a ſtrong paliſade was run into the River as far as deep water. *Wrangel* ſo far profited of the ſecurity of his Enemy, or the treachery of ſome correſpondents, that he found means in a dark night to cut aſunder thoſe Paliſades, and making two falſe attacks in two other places to amuſe and diſtract them within, and ruſhing on at the ſame time with a prepared body of Horſe and Foot up to the ſaddle-skirts in water, wheel'd about the Baſtion and entred the Fort. Had there been but an ordinary work along the bank of the River from one Baſtion to another, or a body of men drawn up in Battalia to receive

ceive the Enemy upon the file, he muſt of neceſſity have taken the water again; But there was neither of theſe. The Governour was a Grave Senatour of the Kingdom, but no experienced ſouldier, only juſtified his fidelity to the King his Maſter by dying upon the place, and was accompanied by about four thouſand more, who were either ſlain or taken priſoners. Some time after, a Lieutenant and a Corporal who had ſerved in *Fredricſode*, and were afterwards ſurpriſed by the *Dane* in the *Swediſh* Quarters, were publickly executed at *Copenhagen*, as thoſe who had traiterouſly betrayed the place. But whether their Crime was really ſuch, or that they

they otherwaies criminal were made uſe of as a ſacrifice to appeaſe the angry Citizens enraged at the loſs of *Fredericſode*, is uncertain.

Thus we have poſted the *Suede* in that important Fortreſs, which bearing the name of the then King of *Denmark*, and thus unhappily taken, might ſeem as it were to preſage by an inauſpicious omen the ſucceeding misfortunes which involved that King: We will leave him there a while Maſter of the Continent, and the *Dane* retreated to his Iſlands: And having thus far drawn down the general ſcheme of the military affairs, let us ſtep back a little to take a ſhort ſurvey

vey of the civil transactions contemporary with the former.

England had too great an Intereſt in the *Baltic*, (the *Mediterranean* of the North) to ſit ſtill without making reflection upon thoſe commotions in the Northern Kingdoms. For beſides the general concerns of a free Trade, which of neceſſity muſt have ſuffered interruption by the continuance of this War, *England* being at that time Engaged in a War with one branch of the *Auſtrian* family, *viz.* with *Spain*, would rather the *Sueditſh* Arms had been at liberty to give check to the other branch in *Germany* as occaſion might offer, then to be diverted therefrom by a war with *Denmark*. Two Gentlemen

men are ſent over to endeavour a reconciliation betwixt both Kings, Mr. *Meadowe* who was diſpatched to the *Daniſh* Court, arrived there in *September*, 1657. much about the time the *Suede* entred *Jutland*. His buſineſs was to remonſtrate how unwelcome it was to them in *England* to underſtand of a Rupture betwixt the two Crowns, albeit they eſteemed the communication thereof by the Letters and Manifeſt of that King as an expreſſion of friendſhip. That beſides the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud betwixt two Nations linked together by the common bonds of Nature and Religion, and both of them leagued in Amity with *England*, the continuation

tinuation of that War might in ſo perilous a juncture conſiderably endanger the whole Proteſtant Cauſe and Intereſt; and nothing could have happened more advantagious to *Spain*, with whom *England* was in open Hoſtility. Beſides his Majeſty of *Denmark* could not but be ſenſible how much the freedom of Navigation and Commerce in the *Baltic* would be impeached thereby, to the prejudice of the Neighbouring Nations, but of none more than *England*, as continually fetching Naval Stores from thoſe Countries. He was therefore ſent on the part of *England* to that King to offer the beſt and moſt friendly offices for accommoding all differences betwixt

twixt the two Crowns, and putting a ſtop to ſo unhappy a War, and to aſſure him that they would imploy their utmoſt Intereſt with the King of *Sueden* to diſpoſe him thereto, and to that purpoſe had already ſent a Gentleman to Him. And that if this their tendred Mediation were accepted, they would in the management thereof deal impartially, and endeavour that the Peace once reeſtabliſhed might for the future be inviolably obſerved.

To this Propoſal the King of *Denmark* returned Anſwer in writing under his Seal and Signature, bearing date *September* the twenty fifth, 1657. Declaring that the care of *England* for

for the tranquillity of his Kingdoms, the freedom of public commerce, and quieting all differences, was gratefully accepted by him. And that he was ready to enter upon a Treaty of a ſure and Honourable Peace under the mediation of *England*. And ſo ſoon as the King of *Sueden* ſhould teſtifie a ſuitable concurrence on his part, he would further declare himſelf as to time, place and other the Preliminaries to an enſuing Treaty.

This Declaration was tranſmitted to the King of *Sueden* with all poſſible diligence, and drew from him a Reply dated at *Wiſmar*, *October* the nineteenth, 1657. In which after many Expoſtulations

tions how injuriouſly he had been dealt with by the *Dane*, intermixed with ſome language which the *Dane* reſented as reproachful, he declares likewiſe his conſent to enter upon a Treaty under the mediation of *France* and *England*. And that the Preliminaries as to place of Treating, number of Commiſſioners, ſafe Conducts, *&c.* ſhould be adjuſted according to the tranſaction betwixt the two Crowns in the year 1644. Provided that ſafe conducts in due form be without delay delivered to the Mediators, and a reaſonable time prefixed by the King of *Denmark* for meeting of the Commiſſioners.

This Reply of the *Suede* being

communicated to the King of *Denmark*, produced from him another Declaration of the third of *November*, 1657. That he alſo conſents to the Tranſactions in forty four, only as to the place of the future Treaty he conceives *Lubec* or ſome other Town in that Neighbourhood to be moſt commodious. That the Treaty commence under the mediation of *England*, and of the States General of the *United Provinces*. And ſo ſoon as *France* ſhould Offer him their mediation, he would accept thereof. And that the deſigned Peace be not reſtrained to the two Crowns of *Denmark* and *Sueden*, but the King of *Poland* and Elector of *Brandenburg* be comprehended in the

the ſame. Theſe things being firſt accorded by His Majeſty of *Sueden*, that he was ready to deliver his ſafe conducts into the hands of the Mediators.

It was eaſie to foreſee how this comprehenſion of the *Pole* inſiſted on by the *Dane* would trouble the whole ſcene of Affairs, which conſideration put the *Engliſh* Mediator upon excepting againſt it as a new propoſal forrain to the preſent queſtion. How that the mediation of *England* was offered only betwixt the two Crowns, and ſo accepted by his Majeſty of *Denmark* without any mention of *Poland*. How that this would render the ſo much deſired Peace tedious and difficult, if not im-

poſſible, for that the differences betwixt *Sueden* and *Denmark* were a ſudden diſtemper eaſily cured if taken in time, but thoſe betwixt *Sueden* and *Poland* were in the nature of an inveterate malady, harder by much to be eradicated. That the Great Seal of *Poland* by which the Miniſters of that Crown muſt be Commiſſionated as Plenipotentiaries for a Treaty, was engraven with the Arms of *Sueden*, which that King would never admit of.

However this ſecond Declaration of the King of *Denmark* of the third of *November* was ſent to the King of *Sueden*, and begat another from him of the ſeventh of *December* dated at *Wiſmar*, wherein he declares himſelf not

ſatisfied

ſatisfied with the nomination of *Lubec* for the place of Treaty, as being a receſſion from the Cuſtoms anciently practiſed betwixt the two Kingdoms, and the regulation agreed on in the year 1644. that when occaſional differences aroſe betwixt the two Crowns, the Commiſſioners of both ſides ſhould meet upon the Frontiers for adjuſting thereof with the more ſpeed. Moreover He takes notice of the conquiſite delays and difficulties made by the *Dane* in intermixing other controverſies with his own, and which have no reference to the *Daniſh* War. Yet notwithſtanding he was willing to grant ſafe conducts to ſuch Confederates of the *Dane*, as ſhould teſtifie a

desire of being present at a Treaty in any place of the confines. And as for the States General, after their ratification of the Treaty made by their own Ambassadors at *Elbing*, whereby the friendship betwixt *Sueden* and them is renewed; He would so declare himself on their behalf, in case they offer him their mediation for composing this War, as should sufficiently prevent any just occasion of complaint.

To this the King of *Denmark* rejoyn'd another Answer of the twenty seventh of *Decemb.* 1657. insisting upon the immediate admission of the States General to the mediation, without suspending it upon the previous Act of first ratifying the *Elbing* Treaty,

Treaty, a point which had been depending twelve months, and was like to be longer. Adheres to the place formerly nominated by him for aſſembling the Commiſſioners. And that the *Pole* and *Brandenburger* ſhould not only have a bare licenſe of being preſent at the Treaty, but that the reſpective Treaties to be had with them as Confederates and Principals with the *Dane* in the ſame War, ſhould proceed by the ſame gradations and meaſures as that with *Denmark*.

The truth is, in the reaſoning and debate concerning the place of meeting there was a ſecret drift on both ſides, unexpreſſed by either. The *Dane* would have it at *Lubec* or any other neutral

place in *Germany*, convenient for the *Pole* and *Brandenburger* to be there preſent as parties with him, whereby to have the opportunity of ſtrengthning each the others hand by a communication of Councils, and concerting of Affairs to the promoting of a common Intereſt. On the other hand the *Suede* would have it on the frontiers over the *Baltic*, whither the *Pole* and *Brandenburger* could not with any reaſonable convenience come, deſigning thereby to diſunite the Confederates by the jealouſie of a ſeparate Treaty. And perhaps might at the ſame time have treated openly with the *Dane*, and underhand with the *Pole*, and they two ſtriving to prevent each

each other in the Peace, for fear of being deſerted each by other in the War, where he found moſt advantagious conditions granted him, there conclude Peace and proſecute the War againſt the other.

To prevent this the *Engliſh* Mediator endeavoured to draw from the King of *Sueden* a previous intimation on what terms and conditions he would reſt ſatisfied, in caſe the King of *Denmark* would condeſcend to a ſeparate Treaty; That ſo when the Commiſſioners came to meet they might have nothing more to doe then to digeſt the ſeveral Articles into form to be ſigned and ſealed, and ſo the buſineſs effected before the rumor of a

Treaty divulged; And likewiſe partly to facilitate the way of an Agreement, and partly to foretaſte the temper of Affairs, ſome Conditions were inſinuated of the following nature.

A general Amneſty of what was paſt. Reſtitution of places taken each upon other. A ſolemn Renewal under good Garranties of the Treaty in 1644. *A redreſs of Grievances relating to Trade. And a way aſcertained for better prevention of all defraudations in the* Sound, *the pretended cauſe of the War on the* Daniſh *part.*

And to incline the King of *Denmark* to disjoin his Intereſts from *Poland*, it was repreſented by the Mediator, what a broken reed *Poland* had hitherto proved

to

to him. Sometimes making proffer to paſs their forces over the *Oder*, then preſently retreating upon pretence of joining the *Auſtrian* foot, not ſo much as entring *Pomeren* all this while to give the *Suediſh* Army a diverſion, who lay ſecurely quartered in *Holſtein* and *Jutland*. That the Conditions of the Alliance were mutual and reciprocal, which not being performed on the *Poliſh* part, His Majeſty of *Denmark* was no longer obliged. That Confederacies were for mutual ſafety, and not intended to oblige Princes to their Ruine, either ſingly or in company with others. That he had the freſh Example of his Heroic Father of happy memory, who

though

though he had entred into an Alliance with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, yet the neceſſity of his Affairs to recover what was loſt, and ſecure what was left, conſtrained him to make a Peace with the Emperor in the year 1629, excluſive of his Allies.

But neither did theſe Reaſons prevail with the King of *Denmark* to depart from his Alliance with the *Pole*, till a more cogent neceſſity extorted afterwards from him a ſeparate Treaty. Nor was the King of *Sueden* willing to anticipate the buſineſs of his Commiſſioners by precedaneous intimations of his Demands. Nor to content himſelf as to the terms and conditions of

of the Peace with leſs then an honourable amends for the wrong done him. But in his jolly way of expreſſion, ſince the *Dane* had led him ſo long a dance from *Poland* to *Jutland*, he was reſolved, at leaſt to make him pay the fidlers.

Thus the War of the Cabinet was managed by miſſives and memorials, but that of the field was carried on in a ſmarter manner. The extraordinary violent froſt was by this time encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that the little *Belt* which divides *Jutland* from the Iſle of *Funen* was ſo intenſely frozen, as ſuggeſted to the *Suediſh* King an Enterprize (full of hazard but not diſagreeable to a fearleſs mind edg'd with Ambition)

tion) of marching over the ice into *Funen*, with horſe, foot and Cannon. Some little skirmiſhings there were upon the ſhoar of the Iſland, if it may be called a ſhoar where there was no longer Sea, and the *Dane* had in the moſt commodious landing places made large cuts in the Ice, which were ſoon congeled again though with a ſofter cruſt. Into one of theſe a ſmall diviſion of about forty *Suediſh* Horſe with a Cornet unwarily fell, and were there ſwallowed up. Major General *Henderſon* a *Scotch* man was poſted at *Middlefar* with a Body of men, but upon the *Suedes* approach deſerted his ſtation, for which he was after in great danger of a Council of War,

War, had not the *Engliſh* Miniſter ſeaſonably interpoſed for his reſcue. The *Dane* had about three or four thouſand foot and two thouſand Horſe upon the Iſle, who were all of them defeated and taken: and ſome of them being *Germans* took party with the *Suede* invited by the hopes of good booty the plunder of a fertil and well peopled Iſland. The *Suede* marched directly to *Odenſea* the capital Town, ſpacious and well built, which they entred without reſiſtance. For as well *Funen* as the other *Daniſh* Iſles are all open and unfortified, and have no defenſible places except *Copenhagen* and *Cronenburg*, both upon the Iſle of *Zeland*, having been ever eſteemed

esteemed sufficiently fortified by being Islands, and the Kings of *Denmark* having been alwaies Masters of a considerable Naval strength. But now being no longer considered as such, but as contiguous and fastned with the continent, they were exposed an easie prey to an adventurous and forward Enemy.

'Tis observable that this miraculous march over a breadth of the Sea of more than twenty *English* miles, for such is the distance betwixt *Funen* and *Zeland* the way the Army marched, was the resolve of the King himself contrary to the sense of *Wrangel* and the principal Officers of his Army, and 'tis but just he should have the glory of the

the ſucceſs, who had he miſcarried could not have avoided the imputation of temerity.

The News of the loſs of *Funen* being arrived at *Copenhagen* brought the more terror with it, becauſe beſides the loſs of ſo important an Iſle, it awakened the apprehenſion that the ſame Bridge which had let the *Suede* over the little *Belt* into *Funen*, might do the like over the great *Belt* into *Zeland*. Whereupon the King of *Denmark* ſends in haſte to the *Engliſh* mediator, deſiring him to renew with all diligence the former propoſal of a ſeparate Treaty which had been for ſome time interrupted, and to ſet it on foot with all poſſible Expedition. The Mediator being

ing assured of the reality of the King's Intentions, dispatches forthwith an Express to the King of *Sueden* with a Letter, the Contents whereof I shall insert, as being that upon which the following business turned. It acquainted him that the King of *Denmark* had already nominated and authorised the Lords *Joachin Gersdorf* Rix Hofmaster, and *Christian Scheel*, both Senatours of the Kingdom, his Commissioners and Plenipotentiaries to meet, treat and conclude with like Commissioners from him at such time and place as he his Majesty of *Sueden* should please to appoint. It requested him on the part and at the Instance of *England*, to depute in like manner his

his Commissioners, to prefix a time and place for meeting, to send safe Conducts for him the Mediator and the *Danish* Commissioners. Adding moreover, that his Majesty of *Sueden* being as it were in possession, or at least in assurance of an Honourable Peace, if he would Please henceforward to suspend Hostility, testifying thereby the moderation and temper wherewith he Governed his Prosperity and success, he would perform a work worthy the greatness of his Name, gratify the neighbouring Princes and States, and more especially oblige *England* by doing it in favour of a particular request.

This Letter bore date from *Copen-*

Copenhagen February the third, 1657. To which the King returned Anſwer by the ſame meſſenger from *Newberg* in *Funen*, *February* the fifth, ſo quick was the diſpatch at a diſtance of fourſcore miles *Engliſh*. The King's Anſwer was as followeth; To thank him the Mediator for his diligence in promoting the concerns of a Peace, which the *Dane* had hitherto ſo obſtinately oppoſed: That he was willing to enter immediately upon a Treaty with *Denmark* under the reſpective mediations of *France* and *England*. And ſince it was left to him to appoint the place and time, he gave the King of *Denmark* the choice either of the Iſle of *Sproo* or of *Rudkoping* in *Langland*

Langland for the Commiſſioners ſufficiently Authoriſed on both ſides to meet at, within eight days after the date of this his Letter. That together with this Letter he had ſent ſafe Conducts in due form for him the ſaid *Engliſh* Mediator and for the *Daniſh* Commiſſioners, to come ſtay and return at pleaſure. That the buſineſs required the greater haſte becauſe he could promiſe himſelf no ſecurity in a ſuſpenſion of Arms.

This Anſwer was a full conceſſion of the deſired Treaty, but the King would not be complimented out of his advantages into a ceſſation of Arms, well knowing the powerful effects of panic fears from the ſuddenneſs of

of a ſucceſsful Invaſion, and that the only way to profit by them is to give no reſpit for recollecting. The *Suediſh* King contiues his march with all poſſible diligence: His neareſt way to *Zeland* had been over the great *Belt* from *Neuburg* to *Corſure* about ſixteen miles *Engliſh*, but he chuſes rather the way of *Langland* ſo to *Laland* & *Falſter*, which though the farther was the ſafer, becauſe the traject from Iſland to Iſland was no where ſo broad as it was in the Channel of the *Belt* betwixt *Neuburg* and *Corſure*.

The forementioned diſpatch with the ſafe Conducts from the King of *Sueden* being arrived at *Copenhagen*, the *Daniſh* Commiſſioners accompanied with the

Engliſh

Engliſh Mediator, put themſelves without delay upon their journey towards *Rudcoping* in the Iſle of *Langland*, the place appointed for the Treaty. They had travailed little more than ſixty miles *Engliſh*, when not far from *Wardinburg* the firſt Town from the Sea upon *Zealand*, they met with the avant-curriers and ſcouts of the *Suediſh* Army, by whom they were advertiſed the King was newly entred upon *Zeland*, and not far behind. This incredible diligence was an aſtoniſhing ſurpriſe to the *Daniſh* Commiſſioners, whom in their journey from *Copenhagen* to *Rudcoping* the King met at half way. Paſſing by the Scouts unmoleſted under the ſecurity of the ſafe conducts,

ducts, they ſoon after met the King himſelf riding in a ſlide (after the manner of the Northern Countries when the Snows are deep) at the head of about two hundred *Finniſh* Horſe. All alighting to ſalute the King, and he the ſame to reſalute them, he willed them to paſs on to the neighbouring Town, where he would ſpeedily be with them, for that he was going only to view a ground where conveniently he might draw up his Army in Battalia.

To *Wardinburg* they went and there made the firſt entry upon the Treaty, and met there the Chevalier *Terlon* Ambaſſador of *France*, who came out of *Germany* in Company with the *Sueditſh* King.

King. The Commissioners for the Treaty on the part of *Sueden* were Count *Ulefeldt*, who though a *Dane*, yet having received great disobligations from his native Countrey after many services, turned malecontent, and had for some time refug'd himself with the *Suede*. He being a person of Excellent endowments and withal of a haughty and vindicative nature, was made use of as a fit Instrument upon this occasion against the *Danish* Court. The *English* Mediator at the instance of the *Dane* had privately moved the *Suedish* King to change him for some more grateful person, but it would not be granted. The other Commissioner was the Baron *Steno Bielk* a Senator

of *Sueden*. But Monſieur *Coyet* and Secretary *Ernſtein* though neither of them Commiſſioners, becauſe not being Senators of the Kingdom, their Character was inferior to that of the *Danes*, yet being perſons of mature knowledg in affairs of State were made uſe of as principal Inſtruments in the negotiating part.

The *Swediſh* King ſtaid no longer at *Wardinburg* then was neceſſary for drawing over his Army from the Iſle of *Falſter*, and then ranging them in Battalia with a large extended front, in view of the *Daniſh* Commiſſioners and their retinue, to oſtentate their numbers and make them greater in appearance than they were in truth, at length

length filed into a march the direct way to *Copenhagen*. There was little comfort in Treating whilſt the King was marching, and the Mediators and *Daniſh* Commiſſioners whoſe perſons might in ſo dangerous a *criſis* be needful nearer their own King, not being ſatisfied to be left behind the Army, adjourned the Treaty and breaking up from *Wardinburg* overtook the *Suediſh* King at a Town called *Keug* four leagues from *Copenhagen*. The next morning he drew up in Battalia again, and then fell off as before into an orderly march after a diviſion of *Poliſh* Horſe upon the forlorn. His number about ſeven or eight thouſand men well diſciplin'd

and enured to hardſhips, where-of one half were Horſe, and a ſmall train of Artillery of eight or ten field-pieces. Some were left behind to guard the conquered places beſides the garriſon of *Fredericſode*. That night he took up his head quarters at a village within a league and half of *Copenhagen*, and within ſight of it, of which he would ſportingly ſay ſhe was a fair Lady and deſerved dancing for. And he had reaſon to ſay ſo, for had he won her as he wood her, ſhe had brought him for her dower all *Denmark* and *Norway*, and then without the tedious enumeration of all his particular Principalities, he might have ſhortned his Imperial Style and Title

Title into that of *King of the North.*

The Mediators and Commissioners went to *Torstrup* a near adjoyning village there to draw up the concept or minutes of a Treaty, which when mutually agreed on, all Hostilities were immediately to cease, though it would require longer time to deduce those minutes into a larger form fit for the ratification of both Kings. Let us leave them a while at their work and take a short view of the posture and condition of those in *Copenhagen.*

The Fortifications of the City were much decayed, partly through long security not having seen an Enemy for many Ages,

partly through parſimony, to avoid an expence ſuppoſed needleſs. Beſides great Trading Towns are not willing to be fettered up with walls and baſtions, and perhaps in this caſe the *Daniſh* Nobility were as little willing as the Citizens, fearing the ſtrength of the Town might make the Burgers heady: The Walls being only of earth and not reveſted or faced with brick or ſtone, were much crumbled down with the froſt, and eaſie to be climb'd without the help of ſcaling ladders; and the earth ſo petrified that ſpade or mattock could not be made uſe of for preſent repair. The ſpring waters began to fail, and ſome being long frozen were corrupted for want

want of air and motion. There was not one piece of Cannon upon the Walls when the Commiſſioners parted thence, but by this time good ſtore were haſtily drawn from the Arſenal and ſhips in the Harbour, and mounted upon ſhip-carriages. There was no proviſion of food or fewel for a ſiege, no garriſon more than the Burgers, only upon this Alarm a body of five or ſix hundred horſe and ſome few foot were drawn from *Sconen*, and paſſed over the *Sound* upon the Ice into the City. But the horſe would ſoon have wanted forrage, and being moſt of them *Germans*, the leaſt diſorder might not improbably have ſeduced them over to others of their Country-

men in the *Suediſh* Army, in hopes to have ſhared in the promiſed harveſt of rich plunder. Beſides the *Dane* quitting the field in *Sconen*, the *Suediſh* Feldtheer *Steinboch* was ready on that ſide with five or ſix thouſand men to have paſſed the Ice and joined his Maſter in *Zeland*. But nothing ſo much diſmaied the *Dane* as the conſideration how none of his Confederates was in poſſible capacity of relieving him in this utmoſt extremity. The *Pole* and *Brandenburger* were remote as in another world, and ſeem'd glad that the ſtorm had paſſed over their heads and fallen in another quarter. The Ice which was a bridge to the *Suede*, was a bar to the *Hollander*. And

ſo

ſo wonderful was that year, the Seas were not open for above three months after. On the firſt of *May* following, a ſhip at an Anchor in the Road before *Copenhagen* had her Cable of ſixteen Inches circumference cut by a ſhoal of Ice. Add to this the temper of the people, ſome murmuring (as is uſual in ſuch occaſions) againſt the conduct of their Governours, others exclaiming they were betrayed, all affrighted and looking on their condition as deſperate. As a Teſtimony whereof let me add this one inſtance, the *Engliſh* Mediator returning upon ſome occaſions from the Camp into the City, found his houſe well fraught with rich goods, which the beſt

of the Inhabitants had conveyed thither as to a ſanctuary againſt the plundering *Suede*. And yet this teſtimony is due to the perſon of the *Daniſh* King, that he comported himſelf with a magnanimous conſtancy and firmneſs amidſt all theſe misfortunes.

'Tis not irrational to ſuppoſe that if the King of *Sueden* had been truly informed of the ſtate of the Town, he would not have ſlipped the moſt advantagious opportunity he ever had of taking *Copenhagen*. But though he knew all was not well with the *Dane*, yet he did not know the worſt, and being already laden with a heap of proſperities crowded beyond expectation upon him, eſteemed it more prudential to lay

lay hold on thoſe eminent and ſecurer advantages offered him by Treaty, than to depend upon the iſſues of War ſubject to viciſſitudes. Yea 'tis not irrational to believe that ſome of the wiſer heads in the *Swediſh* Court did not heartily deſire to ſee their King Maſter of *Copenhagen*, leſt the commodiouſneſs of the ſituation preferable to that of *Stockholm* ſhould invite either him or his Succeſſor to make that the capital ſeat of the Monarchy, whereby *Sueden* ſhould in proceſs of time have inſenſibly degenerated from a Kingdom to a Province.

The minutes of the Treaty were in few days concluded at *Torſtrup*, upon which a ceſſation

of

of Arms immediately followed: And from thence the Mediators and Commiſſioners removed to *Roſchild*, to digeſt more at leiſure thoſe ſummary Articles into the body of a Treaty. Ten days were ſpent upon that Affair, till the whole was fully perfected and finiſhed. And then the reſpective Inſtruments were in ſolemn form ſigned and ſealed by the Mediators and Commiſſioners on both ſides, and interchangeably delivered each to other. Which from the place where it was finally concluded, though begun at *Wardinburg*, agreed at *Torſtrup*, yet finiſhed here, was denominated the *Roſchild* Treaty.

By this Treaty the King of *Denmark*

Denmark was a great loſer if we conſider what he quitted, but it may as well be ſaid he was a great ſaver if we conſider what he kept. For he who had loſt all in the field could not reaſonably expect to regain it in the cabinet; And though ſome of his principal branches were lopt off, which in time might grow again, yet the root was preſerved which elſe had been loſt without reſource. So that it was but an expreſſion of tenderneſs to his King and Countrey what the *Daniſh* Rix Hofmaſter (a right worthy perſon) whiſperd into the ear of the *Engliſh* Mediator, *Utinam neſcirem literas.* The lands and Territories which by this Treaty were aliena-

alienated and transferred from *Denmark* to the Crown of *Sueden*, were the Provinces of *Sconen* and *Bleking* (as for *Halland* I reckon the *Suede* had that before) likewise the Isle of *Bornholm* and the two Governments of *Bahuys* and *Drontheim* in *Norway*.

The *English* Mediator had two parts to act in this Scene; one was to moderate the Demands as far as he could in favour of the Sufferer, without disobliging the *Suede* by a too notorious partiality. The other was to watch lest any thing be stipulated betwixt the two Kings prejudicial to the Interests of *England*. It was moved that the whole Kingdom of *Norway* should be rent off from *Denmark*

and

and united to *Sueden*, with which it lay contiguous: This intrenched upon *England* as giving the *Suede* the ſole and entire poſſeſſion of the chief materials, as Maſts, Deals, Pitch, Tar, Copper, Iron, *&c.* needful for the apparel and equipage of our ſhips, too great a Treaſure to be intruſted in one hand. The Mediator in avoidance of this was the firſt who inſinuated the Propoſal of rendring *Sconen* and *Bleking* to the *Suede*, which would cut off that unneceſſary charge both Crowns ſuſtained in garriſoning a Frontier each againſt other, by enlarging the *Swediſh* Dominions to the bank of the *Sound*, the ancient and natural boundary of *Sueden*. This though

uneaſie

uneaſie to the *Dane* becauſe of the vicinity of thoſe Provinces to *Copenhagen* the Metropolis, yet was ſafe for *England*, becauſe by this means the *Suede* is become Maſter of one Bank of the *Sound* as the *Dane* is of the other, though the accuſtomed Duty of paſſage, (the beſt flower in the *Daniſh* Garland) was by this Treaty reſerved wholly to the *Dane*. Thus the Power over that narrow entry into the *Baltic* being balanced betwixt two emulous Crowns, will be an effectual preventive of any new exactions or uſurpations in the *Sound*, which occaſioned a fierce War betwixt them in the year 1643. In which the States General judged themſelves ſo nearly concerned

concerned (*England* being at that time moſt unhappily embroild with Inteſtine Commotions, and not in condition to look after her concerns abroad) that they ſent a conſiderable Fleet of War to the aſſiſtance of the *Suede*, by help whereof the *Dane* was beaten and forced to a diſhonourable Treaty at *Broomsborow*, as was before mentioned. And the Duties payable in the *Sound* were from that time regulated as they now ſtand at this day.

An Article had been framed obliging both Kings to hinder the paſſage of any forrain Fleet of War into the *Baltic*, which though directly and immediately levelled againſt *Holland*, yet obliquely and remotely reflected upon

upon *England*, with which the *Engliſh* Mediator not being ſatisfied, cauſed the word *inimica* to be inſerted, and then the ſenſe was this, that both Kings to their power ſhould endeavour to impede the paſſage of any forrain Fleet of War Enemy of both Crowns. By which the edge of the Article was rebated, and the King of *Sueden* diſpleaſed thereat, after acquieſced.

This *Roſchild* Treaty thus concluded bears date, *February* the twenty ſixth, 1658. or as we in *England* write 1657. and was ratified by both Kings under their Royal Seals and ſignatures, together with the ſeals and ſubſcriptions of the Senators of both Kingdoms, according to the time and

and manner prescribed by the Articles. The next thing which in order followed, was the solemn interview betwixt the two Kings at *Fredericsburg*, a Palace of the King of *Denmark* about four leagues from *Copenhagen*, the most magnificent of any in the North. Thither both of them went and which is remarqueable, without any previous stipulations concerning Guards or number of Followers usually practised betwixt doubtful Friends, but with a frank and Northern simplicity, without any seeming distrust each of other: Yet the King of *Denmark* had at least five hundred horse with him, being those who were formerly drawn out of *Schonen*

besides

beſides his ordinary Foot-Guards in Livery, and the ſeveral Gentlemen and Officers of his Court; The King of *Sueden* had not above four hundred and thoſe not ſo well mounted or armed as the other.

The *Daniſh* King ſet forwards from his Houſe about two *Engliſh* miles or more to meet the *Suede* upon his way from *Poſchild*. Both Kings at a competent diſtance alighted at the ſame time out of their Coaches and ſaluted by joyning their right hands, then both entred the *Daniſh* Coach, the *Suede* going firſt, then the *Dane*, accompanied by the *Engliſh* Mediator and Duke *Erneſt Gunther* of *Holſtein Sunderburg*. The *French* Ambaſſador

baſſador was not preſent at this Entertainment: The ſame Order was afterwards obſerv'd, only at the Table, the Queen of *Denmark* ſat at the end, on the Queens right hand the King of *Sueden*, next below him on the ſame ſide the King of *Denmark*. On the Queens left hand the Dutcheſs of *Holſtein* and the Mediator; at ſome diſtance the Senators of both Kingdoms and principal Officers of the Army. Let it ſuffice to ſay the Entertainment was magnificent and ſuch as became ſo unuſual a Solemnity, for two Kings but now in War, to go together from the Field to the Table. The Solemnity continued from *Thurſday* to *Saturday*, both Kings for two Nights

Nights lodging under the ſame Roof. At parting they exchang'd Horſes and other friendly Preſents, and thoſe Officers of the *Daniſh* Court who were appointed to attend the Perſon of the *Suediſh* King were Nobly regaled by him. On *Saturday* he took his leave and went to *Elſinore*, the King of *Denmark* accompanying him part of the way, from thence he croſſed the *Sound* to take poſſeſſion of his new Conqueſts in *Sconen*, the two Caſtles of *Cronenbnrg* and *Elſenburg* (the latter now his own) thundring out their Salutations during his paſſage. From thence he went to *Gottenburg* where his Queen met him, the firſt time ſhe had ſeen him ſince his firſt enterprize upon

upon *Poland*, and there an aſſembly of the States of his Kingdom was celebrated.

The Mediators went to *Copenhagen* to meet the Commiſſioners newly arrived from the Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*, Father in law to the King of *Sueden*, for adjuſting the ſatisfaction due to that Duke, who had been a great ſufferer by the War, in purſuance of the twenty ſecond Article of the *Roſchild* Treaty. The *Engliſh* Mediator received ſeveral Letters from the Duke requeſting him to expedite that affair, which by the ſaid Article was to be terminated by the ſecond of *May*. Beſides the King of *Sueden* though he had already quitted *Zeland*, yet he was reſolv'd

ſolv'd not to diſlodge his Troops from the reſt of the *Daniſh* Dominions till his Father-in-law had received an equitable ſatisfaction. This Buſineſs met with more difficulties than was expected, and grew ſo high, that the *Daniſh* Commiſſioners entred a ſolemn Proteſtation in writing into the hands of the Mediators, proteſting that the impediment was not on their part, if all things were not accorded betwixt the Royal and Ducal Houſes before the Expiration of the time prefixed, they having already condeſcended to all equitable Demands. At laſt this Affair was ended alſo by Grant of the Bailywick of *Suabſted* and Releaſe of the Vaſſallage of the Dutchy of

Sleſvic

Sleſvic a fief of the Crown of *Denmark*, and the concept of Articles was ſigned and ſealed by the Mediators and reſpective Commiſſioners, and afterwards ratified by the King and Duke.

As to the Dutchy of *Sleſvic* 'tis to be noted, that the Dukes thereof ow Fealty to the Crown of *Denmark*, and conſequently are liable to the forfeiture of their Fee in caſe of diſloyalty. But the King of *Denmark* is likewiſe Duke of *Sleſvic* and moreover, Hereditary in *Sleſvic* and but Elective in *Denmark*, ſo that by Releaſe of the Vaſſallage the Crown of *Denmark* was a loſer, the King of *Denmark* a gainer. The Royal Houſe of *Denmark*

and the Ducal Houſe of *Gottorp* are extracted from two brothers, whoſe deſcendants are equally and in common ſovereign Dukes of *Holſtein* and *Sleſvic*. All Contributions, Impoſts and public Revenues are put into a common Coffer to be equally divided betwixt both, and all charges and expences of the Government to be ratably allowed out of the public Stock. And yet they have their Bailywicks, Lands and Poſſeſſions apart. But the Prelates, Nobility and Towns of both Dutchies remain uudivided and do Fealty to both Princes, who govern alternatively and change turns every year. It had been urged on the part of the Duke, that there ſhould be an abolition

of

of this alternative communion, whereby the Government and public Justice within both Dutchies is one year in the King and another in the Duke. But the States of *Holstein* would not consent to this, and so 'twas laid aside, because those *Holsteiners* who upon the Division of the Government should have fallen under the repartition and share of the Duke, should have been no longer subjects to the King of *Denmark*, to the great hindrance and prejudice of those Noblemen who find better preferments in the Court at *Copenhagen* than can be expected from that at *Gottorp*. Besides having two Masters successively, when Justice is delaied them by one, they can have re-

courſe to the other, as the Government comes to his turn, which they of *Holſtein* eſteem a privilege.

Thus I have continued the Series of the principal affairs Military and Civil down to the Pacification of *Roſchild*, and ſhould have ended here, but that the War breaking out again and the new-made Peace ſoon after violated, oblige me, though unwilling, to proceed.

Two Ambaſſadors were ſent from *Sueden* to the *Daniſh* Court, the Baron *Bielk* and Monſieur *Coyet*, partly to Negotiate ſuch things as appertained to the execution of the *Roſchild* Treaty, partly to make the Overture of a ſtrict and intimate Alliance betwixt

twixt the two Crowns, by a League mutually Defensive. For it greatly imported the *Swedish* King, having many Enemies still before him, to double bolt, and by all possible means secure the back-door of *Denmark*. At leastwise not to leave *Denmark* like a smoaking torch, though the flame of War was extinguished, ready to take fire again upon every agitation. But things fell out quite otherwise. The *Dane* was more intent how to free his Country from the burdensome company of the *Suede*, than desirous to entertain with him any stricter alliance of Amity. And the *Suede* found it true that Treaties extorted by necessity upon unequal and disproportionate

tionate conditions are no longer durable than that force continues which first made them.

After the *Suedish* Army had quitted *Zeland* and the relenting Ice was no longer repassable, some in the *Danish* Court whose Zeal and Affection to their King and Countrey was otherwise commendable, were too free and open in Censuring the *Roschild* Treaty, as if their Affairs had not been reduced to such extremity as to constrain them to so dishonourable conditions. Thus when the danger is passed and the consternation over, all will seek to appear valiant and wise, and he who in a wrack thinks himself happy in a plank to save his life, is no sooner ashoar,

aſhoar, but grows diſſatisfied with himſelf for not ſecuring his goods. *Van Beuning* the *Dutch* Ambaſſador at *Copenhagen* was buſie with Intrigues amongſt the great perſons of the *Daniſh* Court, and ſuſpected by the jealous and watchful *Suede*. A great debate fell out betwixt the *Sueditſh* Ambaſſadors and *Daniſh* Commiſſioners concerning the property of the Iſle of *Hueen*, which not being expreſsly tranſferred to *Sueden* in the *Roſchild* Treaty, the *Suede* to ſalve that omiſſion challenged it as an appendix and acceſſary of *Sconen*, but the *Dane* reclaim'd it as an appurtenance of *Zeland*. The truth is, the Iſle of it ſelf without any relative conſideration was

of little or no value, but had it remained in *Daniſh* hands they might have built a Fort upon it to command the entry of *Landſcroon*, by which the onely or moſt conſiderable Port which the *Suede* had in *Sconen* would have been rendred uſeleſs. And therefore they were reſolved at any rate to have it, and if by no other right, at leaſt by that new deviſed one which we in old *Engliſh* have no word for, but the *French* call it *Le Droit de bienſeance*. Other Controverſies aroſe of the like nature, which the *Suede* though ſeemingly offended at, yet profited upon, making them the pretence for continuing their forces in *Funen*, *Jutland*, and other the *Daniſh* Dominions, which

which by the ſixteenth Article of the Treaty they were to have quitted by the firſt of *May*.

1658. Summer was now approaching and yet the King of *Sueden* was ſtill at *Gottenburg*, ordering the affairs of his Kingdome, ſetling himſelf in his new acquired Eſtates, and attending the Iſſue of his Ambaſſadors Negotiation at *Copenhagen*. In *June* he parted thence and arrived at *Fredericſode*, ſtopped ſome time at *Flensburg*, and from thence went to his Father-in-law at *Gottorp*. Four Ambaſſadors met him from the Electoral College, for there was at that time a vacancy in the Empire, and the Electors were aſſembled at *Francfort* upon choice of a new Emperour. The

buſineſs of the Ambaſſadors was to proffer all friendly offices for compoſing the War betwixt him and *Poland*, and accommoding all differences betwixt him and the King of *Hungary*, ſoon after choſen King of the *Romans* and Emperour. As alſo to deſire and forewarn him to abſtain from marching with his Army upon the Territories of the Empire. The Ambaſſadors had an unwelcome reception, the King reproaching them with their Maſters non-performance of the Garrantie of the *Munſter* Treaty upon the *Daniſh* Invaſion of the Biſhoprick of *Bremen*. Two Miniſters came to him in particular from the Elector of *Brandenburg*, but were not admitted

to

to Audience, the King requiring a previous ſatisfaction from that Elector for deſerting his Alliance and confederating himſelf with his declared Enemy the *Pole*. The *Brandenburg* Miniſters were treated the more roughly, the better to diſguiſe a following deſign, and to induce a general belief that the Dominions of their Maſter were forthwith to be invaded. The *Engliſh* Mediator had been recalled from the Court of *Denmark* as ſuppoſing all quiet there, and placed in that of *Sueden*, and was now in *Germany* ſetting on foot a new mediation betwixt that King, the *Pole* and *Brandenburger*. The Armies of which two laſt ſubſiſted all this while at the charge of

of their own Countries, but that of *Sueden* made good chear at the coſt of *Denmark*, whiles the *Sueditſh* Ambaſſadors and *Daniſh* Commiſſioners were debating at *Copenhagen*. The truth is, the *Suede* was glad of a pretext for continuing in his old quarters contrary to the Treaty, being at at a loſs what to do with his Army. To disband was not reaſonable, becauſe he had the *Pole* with the *Brandenburger* his new Allie, Enemies before him, and not well aſſured of the *Dane* behind. To have removed his Quarters into *Pomeren* in the Neighbourhood of *Brandenburg*, had been to eat up his own Country, and which was more, would certainly have drawn together

gether a confederacy in the Empire againſt him as a diſturber of the Peace thereof.

The *Suede* thinking it now time to begin his Campagne, which the *Dane* had long expected, hoping to be rid of his troubleſome Gueſts, Ordered the Rendeſvouz of his Army at *Kiel* a Maritim Town in *Holſtein*, with a Fleet of about ſixty ſail to be ready in the Harbour, moſt of them Veſſels of burden, the reſt good men of War. From *Kiel* he marched at the head of ſome ſelected Troops to *Wiſmar*, making ſemblance as if the groſs of his Army ſhould follow. But the Cabinet at *Gottenburg* had otherwiſe determined it, for there I perſuade my ſelf the deſign

ſign was firſt hatched and cheriſhed with all imaginable ſecrecy. It was thought not adviſable for the *Suede* to ſtir in *Germany*, not being aſſiſted by any powerful Allie. *France* at that time faced towards a marriage and conſequently a Peace with *Spain*. *England* was a Chaos of confuſion and diſorder. A War with *Poland* was remote and unprofitable, and had already conſumed him to no purpoſe, one nearer home would be of more ſafety and advantage. The *Dane* would never want a will ſo long as he wanted not a power to hurt *Sueden*; It was judged eaſier to conquer him than reconcile him.

The King ſtaid but a little time

time at *Wiſmar* with his Queen, and then privately imbarqued himſelf upon a *Dutch* Boyer in the River, and arrived at *Kiel*. All hands were now buſie in putting the Army, Horſe and Foot aboard, which done, the King went alſo aboard a man of War: The *French* Ambaſſador went with him, the *Engliſh* Miniſter though invited refuſed to go, not being ſatisfied whether the deſign was upon *Pruſſia* or *Denmark*, however would in neither caſe put himſelf as party in Company of an Enemy, whoſe office had been and was ſtill to be a Mediator. The Fleet ſet ſail with a fair wind and not many hours after arrived at *Corſure* upon the Iſle of *Zeland*, this

this was in *Auguſt*, and the Peace had been concluded but in *February* before. No longer time was ſpent at *Corſure* then what was neceſſary for landing the Army, which conſiſting of near four thouſand Horſe, beſides ſeveral Regiments of Foot to be tranſported from *Funen* and joyned with thoſe already brought from *Kiel*, would unavoidably require ſome time to diſembark, which together with a march of about ſixty miles *Engliſh* from *Corſure* to *Copenhagen*; was all the warning the *Dane* had to prepare an Entertainment for their unexpected Gueſt. The King had prepared no Manifeſt to declare the grounds and reaſons of this enterpriſe, becauſe he

doubted

doubted not to carry all before him by the ſuddenneſs of the ſurprize, and the ſucceſs had been the beſt argument for juſtification of his Arms. The *Daniſh* King ſent to know of him the Reaſons of this ſudden Invaſion after a Peace ſo lately concluded, and ſo dearly bought, and by what juſt ways and means he might allay and pacifie any conceived diſpleaſure. But all was now too late, the great *Belt* was behind him and *Copenhagen* before him; he was over *Rubicon* and would to *Rome*.

The two defenſible places upon *Zeland* being *Copenhagen* and *Cronenburg*, the *Suediſh* Army divided, part under General *Wrangel* beſieged *Cronenburg*, whilſt

whilſt the King with the greater part inveſted *Copenhagen*. It would neither be profitable nor delightful minutely to recount the particulars of a long ſiege, but it was ſoon made evident that the ſame proſperous direction which had guided the *Swediſh* Arms in the former War did not accompany them in this, as indeed the ſtate of the caſe was much varied, and the juſtice of the quarrel more queſtionable, it being clear that in the firſt War the *Dane* had been the Aggreſſor. *Cronenburg* made but a faint reſiſtance, and cowardly yielded after about three weeks ſiege, which ſupplied the *Swede* with a mighty ſtore of ammunition of all ſorts, beſides ſeveral braſs

braſs Guns of an immenſe weight purpoſely caſt and planted there to command the paſſage of the *Sound*. At *Copenhagen* it was quite otherwiſe, there was a conſiderable Garriſon of Soldiers in it with good Officers, beſides ſeveral Companies of ſtout and well reſolved Burgers. The *Daniſh* King conſidering the Town no longer as ſeated in the Heart of his Dominions, but become Frontier by the loſs of *Sconen* within view of *Copenhagen*, had employed many hands during the Summer in fortifying and repairing the works, regular enough before, but much decayed. The waters being all open, the Mariſhes, Lakes and falſe grounds about the Town had

had rendred it in great part inacceſſible. Theſe in the former War were all frozen, and as if communicating with the rigour of the Seaſon, the bloud and ſpirits of the Inhabitants were congealed alſo. But now all flowed again, Anger and Indignation againſt the Perfidie, as they deem'd it, and inſatiate Avarice of the *Suede*, inſpired the *Dane* with Courage. But nothing held up their ſpirits more than the infallible aſſurance Monſieur *Beuning* the *Dutch* Ambaſſador gave them, (who upon the firſt Intelligence of the *Suedes* landing poſted home to advertiſe his Superiors thereof) that the States General would in few weeks ſend them Relief, Neither could they

they have weathered out ſo outragious a ſtorm had the Sheat-Anchor of *Holland* failed them.

The *Suede* finding the Town in too good a condition to be carried by Aſſault, was conſtrained to a formal ſiege by way of approach. The Fleet had blocked up the Harbour, as the Army had on *Zeland* ſide begirt the Town, but it was ſtill open to the *Ammak*; which I cannot call an omiſſion, becauſe to have planted a Leaguer on that ſide would have required another Army. For this little Iſle though united to *Copenhagen* by a long bridge, is disjoyned from the reſt of *Zeland* by broad flats covered with water and a deep Channel in the midſt, ſo that

that a Leaguer on the *Ammak* could have had no communication with that on *Zeland*. In the Winter enſuing when the waters upon the flats were frozen, the the *Suede* by the benefit of the Ice often viſited that Quarter, where a Party of *Danes* being abroad and the Prince of *Homberg* advancing with a Squadron of Cavalry to repel them, but preſſing too forward upon the *Daniſh* Rear had his Leg ſtruck off with a Cannon ſhot. To be ſhort, the *Danes* defended themſelves with great Gallantry and Loyalty, their King animating them with his preſence, and pitching his Tent upon the Rampart bid his fellow-ſoldiers *Cæſar*-like, not Go but Come. The Cannon, of which

which they had ſome hundreds upon the walls, plaid freely upon the beſiegers, not without conſiderable execution. But not content with this, they made ſeveral brisk ſallies into the *Swediſh* Trenches with ſuch ſucceſs, that they began at length to deſpiſe that Enemy whom ſo lately they had feared. The *Suede* loſt many good Officers and Soldiers, amongſt whom Count *Jacob de la Gardie*, Lieutetenant of the Infantry was ſlain by a Granade.

During this time the Elector of *Brandenburg* was entred *Holſtein* and *Jutland* with a gallant Army, of which the Elector was Generaliſſimo for the Emperour as King of *Hungary*, but the Imperial

perial Troups were Commanded by *Montecuculi*, and a great Body of *Poliſh* Horſe by old *Zarnetsky*. Prince Palatine *Sultsbach* who Commanded in thoſe parts for the *Suede*, being too weak to appear before ſo potent an Enemy retired firſt into the faſtneſs of *Ditmarſh*, afterwards into *Fredericſode*: Which the *Suede* ſoon after demoliſhed as requiring greater numbers of men than he could well ſpare, thence tranſporting himſelf into *Funen*, lay intrenched in thoſe Iſlands whither the Confederates for want of ſhipping could not follow him. The Elector ſummoned and took the Caſtle at *Gottorp*, the Manſion and Reſidence of the Duke of *Holſtein*, who though he

he Honoured his Family by matching his excellent and moſt deſerving Daughter to a great King, yet his active Son in Law involv'd the good old Duke in many troubles unwelcome to his age and humor. He himſelf was retired to *Tonning* a ſtrong Town of his own, and not long after died.

One thing I had almoſt forgot, the more conſiderable becauſe both Kings were perſonally engaged in the Action. The *Suede* obſerving that the *Dane* daily fetched proviſions from the aforementioned Iſle the *Ammak*, which contained four or five villages, and was about ſo many *Engliſh* miles in length, was reſolv'd to make a deſcent in order

to burn the Villages and deſtroy whatever might afford ſuſtenance or relief to the beſieged. For which purpoſe he put aboard about twelve hundred foot and four hundred horſe, and the King himſelf would needs be of the party, thinking nothing ſo well done as where he was preſent, as well as naturally ambitious of ſharing perſonally in the Glory of every brave Action. Coming to the height of the *Draker* he forced his landing upon the point of the Iſle, and conſtrain'd them upon the Guard to abandon their Poſt. He marches up the Iſle and deſtroys all before him, and the *Dane* fearing he came to fortifie ſome Poſt on that ſide, ſet fire to the Village

next adjacent to the Town, as the *Suede* had done to the reſt. Having done his Work, the *Suede* retreats to his boats too ſecurely, ſome ſcattered from the Body, others encombred with plunder; mean while the *Daniſh* King ſallies out in perſon with three hundred horſe and two hundred dragoons, beſides ſome few commanded foot mounted behind, falls in upon the *Suediſh* Rear, ſlew ſeveral of them and put the reſt in diſorder. The *Suediſh* King mounted upon an unruly Horſe bounding and curvetting with him ran great hazard of falling that day into *Daniſh* hands. But the *Dane* either not knowing all his advantages, or not willing to be drawn too far from his

Town by an over-eager preſſing upon an Enemy who out numbred him, ſounded a ſeaſonable Retreat. The ſame King not long before narrowly eſcaped another danger, paſſing in a ſmall boat a head of a Galliot under ſail in a ſtrong Current, the Galliot overſet the boat, the Steers-man was drowned, but the King ſaved upon the Galliot.

It was now *October*, 1658. when the much expected *Dutch* Fleet began to appear, conſiſting of thirty eight men of War, ſix Fire-ſhips, about three ſcore Fluits, Galliots and other Veſſels, with betwixt three and four thouſand Auxiliary Foot, and all

all ſorts of Proviſions for the relief of *Copenhagen*. The Fleet was Commanded by General *Opdam*, who came to an Anchor off the *Lapſand* about half a League below *Cronenburg*. The *Swediſh* Fleet was forty two ſail, ſome of them ſtout Ships, Commanded by General *Wrangel* who was High Admiral of *Sweden*, and poſted in four Squadrons a little above *Cronenburg*, both Fleets within a League each of other. Some were of Opinion that the *Swediſh* Fleet ought to Encounter the other in the *Lap* whiles the Winds were contrary from *Copenhagen*, and ſo the *Dutch* Fleet unbefriended of a Port, whereas the *Swede* was Maſter of both Shoars, and had

ſeveral Ports near at hand. This in ſome reſpects was the better, and that King inclinable to it: But he deferring to his Council in ſo weighty a Concern, moſt of them opined otherwiſe. That they had too many Enemies already to make themſelves Aggreſſors in a new War. That this would heighten and exaſperate things betwixt them and the *Dutch* beyond hopes of a reconciliation. That *Holland* in caſe of any diſaſter could furniſh one Fleet after another, but *Sueden* adventured their All. That it would be more juſtifiable to Forrain Princes and States in Amity with them, if putting themſelves upon the defenſive, they did only endeavour to impede

pede the paſſage of thoſe who would relieve a beſieged Enemy. Such conſiderations prevailed, whiles both Fleets lay for ſome days at an Anchor.

At length the Wind coming fair at *North-weſt* with a freſh Gale, the *Dutch* Fleet weighed and ſet ſail for the *Sound*. Both the Caſtles of *Cronenburg* and *Elſinburg* fired at them as they paſſed the narrow, ſome of the Cannon carrying fifty and ſixty pound ball, but to no other effect than to ſhew that thoſe Caſtles are but bugbears to affright Merchant-men, and that nothing leſs than a Fleet can command the Paſſage of the *Sound*. Both Fleets were Engaged ſo cloſe together by rea-

ſon of the Streight, but a League over, that moſt of the ſhot took place and made great ſlaughter on both ſides, Vice-Admiral *Wit-Wittenſen* had the Van of the *Dutch*, who coming up with the *Suediſh* Admiral cut off his Steerage and made him lie by to mend, but the Vice-Admiral himſelf was ſlain by a ſmall ſhot. He had been brave and bold but ill ſeconded; his Ship called the *Brederode* (the ſame that old *Tromp* was ſlain upon in the *Engliſh* Wars) was broken in pieces, and running a ground fell on one ſide like a wrack. She was mounted with fifty ſix good braſs Cannon, ſome of which a *Scotchman* afterwards weighed up by the Invention of a Diving-Bell.

Bell. *Opdam* fought well, though ſome of his Squadron acted remiſly. *Peter Floriz* the Rear-Admiral was ſlain. The *Suede* loſt four Ships, two whereof were carried to *Copenhagen*, the *Dutch* loſt two, their Fire-ſhips ſpent themſelves in vain. The deſtruction of men was greater then of ſhips, the fight being ſmart and cloſe for the time it laſted, which was not long, for the *Dutch* never tacked but onely fought their direct way to convoy their ſupply to *Copenhagen*, and this they effected to the great joy of the City.

The fight was no ſooner ended, but Orders were iſſued out to the *Swediſh* Fleet to put immediately into the Port of *Land-*

ſcroon; which was providently done, for the next morning the *Dane* having joyned twelve good ſhips which lay ready in Harbour, though detained from the fight by contrary winds, with the ableſt ſhips of the *Dutch* ſailed towards the *Sound* to reingage the *Suede*. But he was burrow'd in Port all but one ſhip, which being diſabled in the fight could not make ſo much haſt as the reſt, and upon the approach of the Enemy was fired by her own men. Whereupon the *Dane* and *Dutch* turn their deſign againſt *Landſcroon*, the mouth of whoſe channel was ſo narrow, that but one ſhip could enter at a time, and was guarded by four *Swediſh* ſhips placed at convenient

convenient diſtances and by an old Block-houſe. They durſt not adventure up the Channel but ſailed in a Line athwart it, and ſo every ſhip poured in her Broad-ſide with huge noiſe but little or no Execution. Under the Covert of the ſmoke they ſunk old Ships of great Tunnage charged with ſtones and other materials to choak the mouth of the River, but this was fruſtrated by the depth of water and ſtrength of the Current. Whereupon, this courſe taking no effect, they made Trial with fire-ſhips and entred the Channel therewith, intending to grapple what they could, or at leaſt to turn their fire-ſhips adrift towards the *Suediſh* Fleet.

But

But the vigilance of the *Swede* prevented this, who mann'd all his boats with Mariners and Soldiers, the King himſelf as his manner was, putting himſelf upon a boat to encourage and direct his men. So ſoon as a fire-ſhip was coming up the boats rowed down by the ſides of the Channel with intention to get beyond her and cut off her Long-boat from her Stern. The fire-ſhip men apprehending the loſs of their boat as their life, beſides the danger of being boarded, ſet fire to their train and made away. Then the *Swediſh* Mariners and Soldiers with Iron Hooks and Chains tow'd the fire-ſhips till they had turned them a-ground, and there let them

them burn at pleaſure. Winter coming on the *Dane* returned alſo to Port.

The State of things being thus altered, the *Suede* changed his meaſures accordingly. For *Copenhagen* being relieved with a conſiderable renfort of well commanded men, the Port open, the *Dane* and *Dutch* Maſters at Sea, Winter already begun, it was judged moſt adviſable to raiſe the ſiege and convert it into a blocade. To this purpoſe a Camp was fortified upon a convenient ground about half a League diſtance from the Town, which though Numerous enough in Foot to have attacked the Camp it ſelf, yet wanted Ca-

valry

valry wherewith the *Suede* abounded, and there was a fair level and valley betwixt the Camp and City, ſo that little of Action paſſed for a good time. Till at length the *Suede* conſidering that whatever attempt could be made againſt *Copenhagen* ought to be done that Winter, becauſe the *Hollander* would certainly be upon him in the Spring of the year with another Fleet; that it was evident no good could be done againſt the Town by the tedious forms of a ſiege; that long and lingring ſervices in Camps and Trenches uſually conſumed more men then brisk and ſudden Actions; that the rigour of the Winter when the Earth was covered with ſnow and the waters

with

with Ice had been always moſt propitious to his greateſt undertakings, and might alſo favour him in a general and vigorous Aſſault of *Copenhagen*; that the Enterpriſe was dangerous and ſo were all great ones, but if atchieved, would both quit the Coſt and reward the Service. It was then reſolved to Storm the Town, for which purpoſe great Recruits of Foot were drawn from *Sueden*, and a better body of Infantry muſtered upon this occaſion, than ever the *Suede* had ſeen before in *Zeland*, and many hands were buſied in making all fitting Inſtruments ſuch as ladders of all ſorts, ſpurs to paſs the Ice with, boats covered with Hurdles and Galleries, and

ſundry

ſundry other Engines of War.

Three Nights together the *Suede* marched from his Camp towards the Town, partly to amuſe the Enemy, but principally to handſel and diſcipline his men to their ſeveral tasks and ſervices, that being practiſed to the handling and carrying of their Engins they might be the leſs embaraſsd thereby when they had occaſion to uſe them in good earneſt. The firſt and ſecond Night nothing was done, but as they marched out of the Camp they returned orderly again, the *Dane* either not perceiving or making ſhew not to do ſo. *Febr.* 165⅝

The third Night the *Suede* drew out as before, but with full reſolution

lution to make the Attack. Several Troops of dismounted Cavalry were intermixed with the Foot, and a good Body of Horse to sustain them, and if need were, secure a Retreat. The King commanded in Person, and put himself under the Covert of an old bank, little more than musket-shot from the Town, ready to give Orders as occasion required. The Cannon of the Town was all pointed low to flank and rake the Ditches and Counterscarps, and the *Dane* never fired till the Enemy was under the Works and ready for their Attack. But then plied them so furiously with great and small shot, Cartridges, Hand-granades, Bombs from Mortar-pieces,

pieces, beſides others rould down from the Walls, that the *Suede* was repulſed with great ſlaughter, the reſt of his men diſordered, the Engins broken, and the whole Enterpriſe confounded; Which the King perceiving commanded a Retreat, and ſent at the ſame to Sir *William Vavaſor* to forbear the Attack on the other ſide, but the Orders coming too late found him dead upon the place, with many of his followers. The *Suede* loſt in this Action *Erick Steinbock* General of the Artillery, with many brave and old experienced Officers, both *Germans* and *Suedes*. According to the King's Liſt taken from the Muſter-Roll, there were ſlain five hundred thirty four, and eight

eight hundred ninty five Wounded, the *Dane* reports them more, perhaps the poor innocent Boors whom the *Suede* too cruelly enforced to help carry down their Engins and Utenſils, might encreaſe the nnmber of the ſlain.

The *Suediſh* Arms were ſome time after more proſperous in reducing the Iſles of *Langland*, *Laland*, *Falſter* and *Moenen*, to the great enlargement of their Quarters, and Accommodation of their numerous Horſe, who in ſome places began to be ſtraitned for want of Forrage.

In the Spring of the year the *Engliſh* Fleet arrived in the *Sound* under General *Mountague*, not with any intention as ſome vainly ſuggeſted, 1659.

ſuggeſted to aſſiſt *Sueden* in the Conqueſt of *Denmark*; That had been impolitic and irrational, for 'tis evident the conſervation of *Denmark* is the common Intereſt as well of *England* as of *Holland*, neither was there at that time the leaſt fear or danger of any ſuch ſuppoſed Conqueſt. The Elector had an Army in *Jutland* of near thirty thouſand men, *Brandenburgers*, *Poles* and *Auſtrians*, and could have been as many more if either the Countrey could have ſupported their numbers, or the ſervice required them. *De Ruyter* having joyned *Opdam* with another Fleet of forty ſail, the *Dutch* beſides the *Dane* were near fourſcore men of War in thoſe Seas. *De*

Ruyter

Ruyter had brought upon his Fleet forty Companies more, beſides the thirty eight Companies formerly brought by *Opdam*. Had the War been mannaged in good earneſt, and not by Confederates who have different Aims and Intereſts, and had the Army in *Copenhagen*, for ſo I may now call it, joyned with that of *Brandenburg*, a thing eaſie to have been effected by ſuch Fleets, and all this mighty force united under one Head, it had been ſufficient not only to have beat the *Suede* out of the *Daniſh* Iſles and Dominions, but out of *Sueden* it ſelf. Beſides the *Suede* was at that time involved in a War againſt the Emperour, *Pole*, *Brandenburger*, *Muſcovite*, *Dane* and *Hollander*.

Add

Add to this that the weak ſide of *Sueden* is towards *Denmark*, and the *Swediſh* King has ſometimes told one in private, that were he King of *Denmark* he could conquer *Sueden* in two years. Which though it may ſeem to have ſomething of the Rodomontade in it, may yet to a States-man be of ſome Inſtruction.

England though ſorry for this ſecond rupture with *Denmark*, thought it not their Intereſt to ſee *Sueden* overſet and ſinking under the mighty weight of ſo powerful a Confederacy, but to buoy it up out of thoſe quick-ſands it was fallen into, as being the moſt proper and neceſſary counterpoiſe which *England* had at Sea againſt the combined Naval

val ſtrength of *Holland* and *Denmark*. Without which Counterpoiſe *England* in every War with *Holland* (her emulous and Rival State, and that which ſtands in the eye and aim of all her Greatneſs and Glory in point of Trade and Sea-Dominion) would run a great riſque of being excluded from the *Baltic*, and by that means ſhut out from the Market of all her Naval Stores. The old King of *Denmark*, *Chriſtiern* the fourth, was too ſtomachful to truckle under the *Dutch* Lee, he fought them in Perſon when weakned with old Age, and being wounded by a ſplinter of his Ship to the loſs of one of his Eyes, his cloaths beſmeared with blood are preſerved

ſerved as a Relique to this day. But in the Reign of his Son and Succeſſor the now *Frederic* the third, the *Dane* conſidering the *Suede*, his ancient and hereditary Enemy, had by his new Conqueſts in *Pomeren* and *Liefland*, inveſted himſelf in ſo many conſiderable Ports of the *Baltic*, he twiſted his Intereſt too weak, of it ſelf to hold againſt the *Suede*, with that of *Holland*; who having a concentric Intereſt with that of the *Dane* in regard of their *Eaſt-land* Trade, both States drawing together by a mutual Cooperation, tied the faſt knot of a ſtrict Alliance. And from that time forward the *Daniſh* Court, which in the old Kings time was uſed to lofty *Daniſh*, ſpoke

ſpoke nothing now but Low *Dutch*; Yea ſo prevalent were the *Dutch* Councils at *Copenhagen*, that 'tis moſt certain the firſt War againſt *Sueden* was declared and denounced by the *Dane* at the inſtigation of the *Dutch*, to the end that by this revolution they might better open and ſecure their Trade with *Dantzick* and the *Pruſſian* Ports, obſtructed and endangered by that formidable Impreſſion the *Suede* had made upon *Poland*. How well the *Dane* was rewarded for this Service, the ſequel of this Narrative will declare.

The Deſign of the *Engliſh* Fleet was to advance, and if need were to inforce a Peace upon the

diſſenting King, on the terms and conditions of the *Roſchild* Treaty, purſuant to what the *Engliſh* Mediator (who upon occaſion of this ſecond War followed the *Suede* out of *Germany* into *Denmark* again) had by repeated inſtances urged upon both Kings. Which, as things then ſtood, was conceived the moſt proper medium for accommoding preſent differences, and preventing future inconveniences; the Buſineſs requiring the greater haſt, for fear the War continuing and the Confederates vigorouſly purſuing their point, the *Suede* ſhould either totally be ruined, or the *Dutch* profiting upon his deſperate condition, ſhould capitulate from him

him particular advantages to themſelves prejudicial to the Intereſt of *England*. Therefore in caſe of an obſtinate repugnancy to the Peace on the *Daniſh* part upon the terms aforeſaid, to aſſiſt the *Suede* in a defenſive way under certain cautions and reſtrictions. In which caſe of Aſſiſtance, for in War many things may be ſuppoſed and provided againſt which never come to paſs, the *Suede* was to give real gages and pledges for the Garrantie of his Faith. To which end the *Engliſh* Mediator had often and cloſely remonſtrated to him that 'twas not reaſonable to put a ſword into anothers hand without a previous aſſurance of its not being made uſe of

againſt ones ſelf. And uſed it alſo as an Argument to diſpoſe the otherwiſe unwilling *Suede* to a Peace with the *Dane* (for a War with *Denmark* was of all Wars the moſt commodious for him) becauſe he was not to expect an Aſſiſtance from *England* which ſhould coſt him nothing. And to foretaſt the temper of Affairs, proceeded ſo far as to nominate *Stade* upon the *Elb*, and *Landſcroon* in the *Sound*, to be put in caſe of ſuch aſſiſtance into *Engliſh* hands; which taking vent afterwards, gave occaſion to that frivolous report how that *England* and *Sueden* had agreed together to ſhare *Denmark* betwixt them.

The *Engliſh* Fleet lay all the Summer in the *Sound* and *Belt* only

only as Spectators, to see fair play, and the year declining returned home without doing any thing, contrary to the sense of the *Commissioners*, who some time before, *viz.* in *July*, 1659. arrived from *England*, and would have had the Fleet continued out longer to countenance their new begun Mediation. Which new Mediation upon change of the Government in *England*, was begun and mannaged by new measures taken from *Holland*. For whereas a Treaty had but lately been concluded at the *Hague*, *viz.* the eleventh of *May*, 1659. betwixt *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, for reducing the two Northern Kings to an acquiescence in the *Roschild* Treaty,

they in *England* upon the change aforeſaid, to gratifie the *Dutch* and ingratiate themſelves, conclude another Treaty with them at the *Hague* of the fourth of *July* following, containing a receſſion from ſome material points and Articles in the ſaid *Roſchild* Treaty. And moreover oblige themſelves to obtain from the *Suede*, and that forcibly if need be, in favour of the *Dutch* the ratification of the Treaty made at *Elbing* betwixt *Sueden* and the *States General*, with the Elucidations thereof made at *Thoren*. The truth is they made no great ſcruple, at leaſt for that one time, to come under the Stern of their Neighbouring Common-wealth, thereby to have

have better leiſure to recollect and refit the ſcattered planks and pieces of their own broken Republic.

The *Dutch* and *Dane* riding Maſters at Sea, the *Engliſh* Fleet return'd home, and the *Suede* ſo diſproportionably out-numbred as not to dare to peep out of his Ports, the next Action of Importance was the deſcent which the Confederates made upon the Iſle of *Funen*. The ſtrength of the *Suede* had hitherto conſiſted in being lodged ſecurely within the *Daniſh* Iſles, where the Elector of *Brandenburg* with the Army of the Confederates could not reach him. But what before was his ſtrength becomes now his weak-

neſs, for the *Suediſh* Troops lay disjoyn'd upon the ſeveral Iſlands, and the Enemies Fleets intercepted all Communication betwixt them of paſſing to each others aſſiſtance as occaſion required. Beſides that no Iſland which has open landing places is defenſive but by a Fleet, and ſuch a one as is able to keep the Sea. And leſt any ſhould imagin, that in this caſe the *Suede* ought to have drawn together all the divided members of his Army, and to have kept them united in one Body upon the principal Iſle, which was *Zeland*, it ought to be conſidered that the Countrey had been haraſs'd by a long War, and one Iſland could not furniſh a ſubſiſtence to all the Troops

Troops, but the greater part must necessarily have perished for want of Forrage.

The *Suede* had upon this Isle of *Funen* about fifteen hundred Foot, with some few Companies of Dragoons, and about twenty five hundred of his best Horse. Prince Palatine *Sultsbach* commanded in Chief, assisted by Field-Marshal *Steinboch*. Part of *De Ruyter's* Fleet transports General *Eberstein* with a good Body of Horse and Foot from the Confederate Army in *Jutland*, over the little *Belt* into this Island of *Funen*. Whiles at the same time Field-Marshal *Schack*, by the help of the other part of the Fleet commanded in Person by

De Ruyter, lands upon the other ſide of the Iſle by the way of the great *Belt*. Either of theſe Bodies was ſufficient to have fought the Prince with his whole united Force, but divided as he was and his men poſted in ſeveral the moſt ſuſpected places to prevent landing, he was much too weak. One would think the proper time to have fought the Enemy had been at landing, or if that could not be, becauſe the Cannon favoured his deſcent, yet at leaſt-wiſe before both Bodies had joyned, which was not till after a leiſurely march of ſome days. And yet he did neither, and which is more, gave afterwards ſo ſatisfactory an Accompt to the King that he incurr'd

curr'd no displeasure. It seems all he could do was to reunite the scattered parts of his little Army, and posting himself in the most advantagious ground he could make choice of, there attend the Enemy, and fight it out for Safety, if not for Victory. This was done at *Newburg* a small Town upon the extremities of *Funen* opposite to *Corsure* in *Zeland*, in which last the King of *Sueden* was, almost near enough to be the Spectator of the distress and calamity of his Troops, and yet too far to help them; For *De Ruyter* lay with his Fleet betwixt the two Towns. The *Suede* fought it valiantly having also the advantage of the ground, till the small Infantry overlaid by

by numbers was driven from it. For the Confederates had not leſs than ſix thouſand Foot, the *Suede* not more than ſixteen hundred. As for Horſe the greateſt odds was in Courage and Diſcipline, the numbers near equal. I would not upon this occaſion conceal the honour of our Country-men, I mean the *Engliſh* Regiment commanded by Sir *William Killigrew*, who together with the other Auxiliary Foot brought from *Holland* keeping firm and unſhaken, gave opportunity to the routed Troops to rally behind them, by which good Order and Reſolution, they in great meaſure turned the ſometime wavering fortune of the day. The *Suede* at laſt was broken,

broken, and loſt Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, all were ſlain or priſoners, none eſcaping but the Prince and *Steinboch*, who by the favour of the Night and the skill and labour of a few rowers paſſed by the *Dutch* Fleet in a Fiſherboat, and landing at *Corſure* brought unwelcome tidings to their Maſter.

This was the greateſt foil that King had ever received and he did not long ſurvive it, *Nov.* 1659. and yet 'tis not eaſie to ſay what impreſſion it made upon him, more, than that 'twas little or well diſſembled. No part of thoſe many diſpatches which were ſent upon this occaſion could

could be read in his Countenance, having beſides his natural Courage, the Art of concealing all inward emotions and diſturbances under a free and maſculine appearance, and by ſeeming to fear nothing deſerved to be feared. Not but that in converſation he would often teſtifie a tender reſentment for the loſs of ſo many brave men, who he thought deſerved a better deſtiny.

The Prince was ſo far from being diſgraced, that the King during his abſence made him Commander in Chief of all his Forces in *Zeland*. For the Winter coming on, and the *Dutch* Fleet ſailing towards *Lubec* to Victual,

Victual, and ſoon after putting into Port, and the Enemy at Land breaking up their Campagne, gave the King leiſure to paſs over into *Sconen* and ſo to *Gottenburg*, where he held a Convention of the States of his Kingdome, for the better facilitating of ſuch new Levies of men, and other Contributions which were thought neceſſary for carrying on his many Wars to ſome deſirable concluſion. And as his leiſure permitted he intended to make an Excurſion to *Stockholm*, that City much deſiring to ſee their King after four years abſence. But his inceſſant Labours, Care and Watchings bronght him to a ſharp defluxi-

Dec. 1659.

on,

on; that, a Feaver; and that, his end.

He was cut off in the ſtrength of his days, not forty years of Age, a Prince of undoubted Courage and unwearied Induſtry, low of ſtature but of aſpiring thoughts, of a groſs and heavy body, of a quick and active mind. No man of wit or courage could want Employment in his Court, and he had the ſingular advantage of a happy judgment in diſcerning men, and ſuiting them to ſuch Affairs to which they were beſt adapted, either by the ſecret diſpoſitions of Nature, or by acquired knowledge. His War with *Poland* covered him with Laurels which bore him nothing but gaudy and unprofi-

table

table appearances, but the Olive of the *Roſchild* Treaty yielded him nouriſhing and ſtrengthning fruit. His firſt War with *Denmark* preſented him the fair ſide of Fortunes medal, in the ſecond ſhe turned to him the Reverſe. He had early been bred a Soldier under General *Torſtenſon* in *Germany*, whom he uſually called his Maſter, and never named but with great marks of Veneration. He paſſed through the gradations of the Art Military, from a Captain of a Troop of Horſe to Captain General of as good an Army perhaps as this Age has ſeen. For at the time of the concluſion of the Peace in *Germany* by the Treaties of *Munſter* and *Oſnabrug*, he had under his Command of

ſeveral

everal Nations, fifty three thouſand Foot, and twenty four thouſand Horſe in Field and Garriſon; Beſides the Confederate Armies of Marſhal *Turene* and the Landgrave of *Heſs*, who acted by concert with him and were at leaſt thirty thouſand more. He kept to his dying day the Muſter-Rols of every Regiment with the names of the Officers, ſome of whom when disbanded upon the Peace, he retained by Penſions at his own charge, being then but Prince, obliging them thereby to his ſervice, and foreſeeing the uſe he might one day have of them. And has been heard to ſay, that he thought himſelf a greater man when Captain General in *Germany*,

many than he was now when King of *Sueden*. He would bewail the loſs of ſo many good places which *Sueden* demoliſht or ſurrendred, and for doing whereof he as Captain General was alſo conſtitued Plenipotentiary at the Treaty at *Oſnabrug*, amounting to above two hundred Towns, Caſtles and Forts. By which it was eaſie to perceive that he ſided in opinion with Chancellour *Oxenſtiern*, who when the *Spaniſh* Cabal carried all before them at *Stockholm*, having received peremptory Commands from that Court to conclude the Peace in *Germany*, he did it in obedience to the commands of his Superiors, but with ſuch regret that he could not

not forbear to utter those words, *Anima mea non intravit in secretum eorum.* He was the son of the Sister of the great *Gustaphus Adolphus* so famous in the *German* Story, and upon the resignation of his Cosin *Christiana*, was admitted to the Crown of *Sueden* by the general consent of all the Estates.

This King thus removed by the stroke of death, all things resolv'd into a disposition to a general Peace. His Son and Successor was a Minor of five or six years of Age. His Queen was left Regent during the minority of her Son, a mild and gentle Lady, deriving from the bloud of her Ancestors of the House of *Holstein-*

Holſtein-Gottorp and *Saxe*, a natural candor and benignity. She was aſſiſted by the great Officers of the Crown, who were willing with peace and quietneſs to enjoy their ſhare in the Government which the Laws and Conſtitutions of *Sueden* allowed them in the minority of their King. The *Suedes* themſelves had been haraſsd and tired out by long Wars, and that Martial Nation almoſt rode off their metal by a more Martial King. So that all things conſpired on that ſide to Peace and Settlement. On the other ſide the Queen of *Poland* a *French* Lady, who had the aſcendant in all the affairs of that Kingdom, was wrought over by the means of *France* to a ready

Con-

Concurrence in a Peace with *Sueden*. Beſides that the *Pole* was of himſelf readily diſpoſed thereto, partly in conſideration of the many convulſions and diſtractions of that Kingdom, occaſioned by the contrary motions of diſagreeing factions, and partly in regard of the unprofitableneſs of a War with *Sueden*, by which much might be loſt nothing could be got. A Peace is therefore concluded betwixt both Crowns of *Poland* and *Sueden*, under the mediation of *France* at a place called *Oliva*, and the Emperour and *Brandenburger* who were but acceſſories in the *Poliſh* War, were eaſily comprehended in the Peace.

The

The onely difficulty was for *Denmark*; the late *Suediſh* King had made great ſcruple of admitting the States General of the *United Provinces*, as Mediators for compoſing the War betwixt him and the *Dane*, alledging and declaring that they were parties with the *Dane* and Enemies to him, and that they ought to make their own Peace firſt before they could be in capacity to interpoſe for others. But the now *Suediſh* Court ſoon ſurmounts this difficulty, and the four *Dutch* Deputies Extraordinary who arrived in the ſummer and went two of them to the *Suede* and two to the *Dane*; attended with a ſplendid Retinue, I mean with *De Ruyter* and forty men

men of War, were now accepted by the *Suede*, notwithstanding all former hostilities and provocations, as Mediators in the ensuing Treaty. This rub being removed, the next was the adjusting the terms and conditions of the Peace. For the *Dane* expected his Confederates should have assisted him to the obtaining of such a Peace as might in the conditions thereof have born some proportion to the benefits which they had received by the War, and to the loss and hazard which he had sustained. For this War of *Denmark* had drawn the *Suede* out of the bowels of *Poland*, had delivered the *Brandenburger* from the imminent danger of having his Countrey made

made the ſeat of a War. It was begun by the Council and inſtigation of the States, to ſecure their *Dantzick* trade, and was continued and proſecuted under the proſpect and aſſurance of relief from them. Many of the *Daniſh* Court, notwithſtanding the calamities they ſuffered by this ſecond War, were not heartily ſorry for it, becauſe it gave them an opportunity of bettering by the help of their Allies, thoſe grievous conditions which neceſſity had extorted from them at ſuch a time when no friend could help them.

The States General indeed ſent them Relief, but ſuch as ſerved their own turn, not that of the *Danes*. The *Dane* expected

no leſs than to be reinveſted in all thoſe Dominions and Poſſeſſions which the former War had wreſted from him. And moreover in compenſation and ſatisfaction for the ſpoil and ravage of the whole Kingdom of *Denmark*, by the violation of a Peace ſo ſolemnly and lately eſtabliſhed, to be reinſtated into ſome or all thoſe Lands and Territories which the *Broomsborow* Treaty had transferred to the *Suede*, aſſiſted in that War by the *Hollander*, that ſo both Crowns might return again to their former limits and boundaries. They who cut off the flower of the *Swediſh* Cavalry in *Funen*, what hindred but that they might have landed in *Zeland*. Winter came

came not on ſo faſt, but the Fleet might have ſailed four Leagues, and it was no more to *Zeland* though more to *Lubec*. If they wanted Foot, *Copenhagen* could have ſpared them five thouſand, and they might have had ten thouſand more for fetching from the Confederate Army in *Holſtein* and *Jutland*. But this needed not, the *Suede* had not five thouſand Foot upon *Zeland*, nor ſo good a Body of Horſe as he had left upon *Funen*, beſides the Horſe of the Confederates was better then before, having received an encreaſe of ſtrength from the ſpoils of their Enemy.

But unhappy that Prince who wages a War againſt a ſtronger than himſelf, not by his own

ſtrength; but by that of his Confederates; and ſtill more unhappy when thoſe Confederates are jealous and diſtruſtful of his future growth and greatneſs. The Alliances of States are Convenience not Friendſhip, Intereſt not Affection, a reaſon of the head not a paſſion of the heart. The poor exhauſted *Dane*, after all his former and later ſufferings, muſt ſtoop again under the heavy yoke of the deſpiſed *Roſchild* Treaty. The dividing of the Banks of the *Sound* betwixt the two Crowns accommodated *Holland* as well as *England*. That neceſſity which firſt caſt the *Dane* upon the *Dutch* Alliance, if removed, might make him recoil from it; to keep him poor was to keep

keep him humble and ſo dependent. And yet that the States-*General* might ſeem to do ſomething more than the bare relief of *Copenhagen*, or which is all one, more then the bare ſecuring of their own Trade in the *Baltic*, They urge and obtain that the Government of *Drontheim* in *Norway* be reſtored again to the *Dane*, to the intent thoſe barren mountains might make ſome ſatisfaction and amends for the plunder and ſpoil of a fertil Kingdom, much more exhauſted and more cruelly haraſsd by this ſecond War then it had been by the former. And yet 'tis worthy conſidering whether in this alſo the *Dutch* did not as well gratifie themſelves as the *Dane*, partly

becauſe *Drontheim* better accommodated their *Norway*-Trade whiles in the hand of the *Dane* then when in that of the *Suede*, partly in regard of the Levies of men which the *Dutch* uſually make amongſt the *Norwegian* Mariners, by the favour of the Court of *Denmark* in times of War, and partly for better recovery of thoſe moneys which ſome particular Companies of *Amſterdam* had advanced to the King of *Denmark* upon the Gage and Pledge of the dependencies of *Drontheim*. The controverted Iſle of *Hueen* is adjudged to the *Suede*. The Iſle of *Bornholm* which during this laſt War had voluntarily returned to the obedience of her former Maſter, muſt

muſt be reſtored again to the *Suede* after the expiration of one year, or elſe exchanged for an equivalent. In all the other material points, excepting that of *Drontheim*, the *Roſchild* Treaty is renewed and reconfirmed, and remains to this day the ſtandard and meaſure betwixt theſe two Northern Crowns.

There is one thing more obſervable with which I ſhall conclude. The onely benefit and advantage which *Denmark* has received by this laſt War amidſt many loſſes and ſufferances was occaſional and accidental, and for which the *Dane* has no obligation to any of his Confederates, becauſe it ſprang meerly from

the contingencies of the War; It was this. The Crown of *Denmark* had been Elective for above two hundred years in the present *Oldenburg* Family. The chief Power of Electing being in the Nobility, gave them the means and opportunity of capitulating advantages to themselves, as previous conditions to the Election, with every succeeding King, to the despoiling and debilitating of the Crown, and to the prejudice of the other Orders of the Kingdom. None but a Nobleman could buy or possess in his own right any Seignory or Mannor. A Citizen or Burgher was not capable of purchasing more than a House, and it may be a Garden and Orchard,

or

or ſuch like ſlender curtilage. The Lands and Revenues of the Crown were let to Noblemen it may be not to the third, ſometimes not to the fourth part of what they were really worth, and yet the King muſt not Enhance the old Rents, though in the mean time the Nobles rackt the poor under-Tenants to the utmoſt. The Peſants upon the *Daniſh* Iſles were Villains regardant to the Mannors of Noblemen, ſuch as the Civilians call *aſcriptitii glebæ*. All publick Offices and preferments were appropriated to the Nobility, there was no room left for a ſingle and unendowed Deſert. Birth had precluded Merit, and the priviledges of Bloud had foreſtall'd

the rewards of Vertue. By which conſtitution, *Denmark*, from an anciently glorious and moſt renowned Monarchy, had in a ſucceſſion of ſome Ages dwindled and degenerated to that State and condition which to avoid offence I forbear to name. But upon occaſion of this ſecond War, the better to encourage the Burgers of *Copenhagen* to ſtand couragiouſly for the Defence of their King and Country, leſt the hope and expectancy of bettering their condition under a new Maſter ſhould prompt them to deſert their old, great privileges were propoſed and conferred upon them. Such as theſe: An equal admiſſion to Offices and Honours, as they and

their

their Children ſhould render themſelves capable and deſerving. A power of purchaſing Lands and Lordſhips with the ſame rights as Nobles. The City to be one of the Eſtates of the Kingdom, and to have a ſuffrage in all publick Councils and Reſolves. And the Crown is alſo delivered out of the Guardianſhip of the Nobility, being changed from Elective to Hereditary. So that now in *Denmark* there is a more healthful and better proportioned diſtribution of ſtrength and nouriſhment to all parts of the Body of that Govern. whereby the whole is become more vigorous and able to withſtand for the future ſuch rude Attacks and Aſſaults from without,

without, as had in the late Wars endangered the Life thereof.

A VIEW

A VIEW OF THE SUEDISH AND Other Affairs, as they now ſtand IN GERMANY This preſent Year, 1675. WITH Relation to *ENGLAND.*

Compoſed in the Year 1675. *when the* Suede *was declared Enemy of the Empire.*

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M. DC. LXXVII.

A VIEW OF THE SUEDISH AND Other Affairs, as they now ſtand IN GERMANY.

HE who duly reflects upon the State and Condition of *Germany* at the time of the *Munſter* and *Oſnabrug* Treaties concluded in the year 1648. How the Empire wearied by a tedious War with earneſt long-

ings

ings breath'd after a ſettlement; How the *Suede* at that time powerful in Arms, was courted to a Peace by the propoſal of ſuch advantagious conditions, as wanted nothing but the name of a Conqueſt; may juſtly wonder, that ſo wiſe a Council as that of *Sueden*, ſhould ſubmit all their great Acquiſitions, of which for many years they have been in the quiet and legal poſſeſſion, to the uncertain hazard of a new War.

The *Oſnabrug* Treaty is the *Magna Charta* of *Germany*, and was enacted a perpetual fundamental Law, and pragmatic Sanction of the Empire. But the *Suede*, upon his late Invaſion

ſion of the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg*, having in full Diet been declared Enemy of the Empire, all the conceſſions in that Treaty reſpecting that Crown, are become like the old Charters or Donations of *Charlemagne*, ſealed with the Pommel of a Sword to be warranted by the Blade.

The Riſque the *Suede* now runs is further heightned upon this following conſideration. *Sueden* has enlarged her Border upon all the neighbouring Princes. Upon the *Pole* and *Moſcovite* by *Liefland*, *Eſthen* and *Ingermanland*. Upon the *German* Empire by the Dukedom of *Pomeren*, Principality of *Rugen*, Biſhopricks of *Bremen* and *Verden*

den Erected upon this occaſion into Dutchies, and by the Lordſhip of the City and Port of *Wiſmar*. Upon the *Dane* by the ſeveral Provinces of *Halland*, *Sconen*, *Bleking*, &c. Some or all of which Princes do but wait a favourable conjuncture, wherein to attempt the reinſtating themſelves into thoſe Poſſeſſions, which the Accidents of War and other fatalities have extorted from them.

It may alſo be noted upon this occaſion, that by vertue of the aforementioned *Oſnabrug* Treaty, ſome of the then Friends or Allies of the Crown of *Sueden* were deveſted of part of their Patrimony, the better to accommodate

modate the *Suede* in laying his new acquired Poſſeſſions more cloſe and contiguous. Thus the Elector of *Brandenburg* quitted *Stetin* and other Rights which he had in both the *Pomerens*. The Duke of *Mecklenburg* reſigned *Wiſmar*. 'Tis true both theſe Princes received a compenſatory Exchange or Equivalent, ſuch as the neceſſity of the Public Peace conſtrain'd them to acquieſce in; the firſt by the Biſhoprick of *Halberſtad*, the latter by that of *Ratzenburg*, but it muſt be granted too that the Rents and Revenues of Inland Dominions are not ſo improveable as thoſe ariſing upon Sea-Ports.

Now

Now if we impartially compare the circumstances of Affairs in this present year 1675. with those in the year 1648. it will be the easier to make an estimate, whether *Sueden* could rationally hope to better the conditions of the *Osnabrug* Treaty, or whether their future expectancies can in any just proportion countervail their present hazard.

In the former *German* War, it was no small advantage to *Sueden* to be esteemed the Head of the Protestant Cause and Interest in *Germany*; this brought them many Allies and Adherents, and made their thin and tattered Regiments swell into numerous and well appointed Armies. But in

in the preſent War there is nothing of Religion ſo much as pretended in the Caſe. Nay the more immediate quarrel that *Sueden* now has, is with the *Brandenburger*, the *Dane* and *Hollander*, who though of different perſuaſions, are claſp'd together with the *Suede* in the ſame general concerns of Religion. Before the *Oſnabrug* Treaty, *Germany* was crumbled into many Factions and Intereſts, both Religious and Civil. Now the whole Body of the Empire is conſolidated and united together againſt ſtrangers, and ſome in *Germany* eſteem the *Suede* no other. In the year 1648. before the Peace, the *Suede* had more than two hundred Garriſons in *Germany*, and

and an Army in Field and Garriſon of near fourſcore thouſand men, the far greater number of them foreiners, but all Veterans exactly diſciplin'd, and commanded by a Martial Prince extracted from the Palatine family of the *Rhine* (the now King of *Sueden*'s Father) who upon that accompt was the more acceptable to the *German* Nation. Now their Army is ſmall and conſiſts of new Levies, their Garriſons few, and by occaſion of a long Peace neither ſo well fortified nor otherwiſe provided. The *Suede* had then many Allies and Confederates within the very bowels of the Empire. The *Landgrave* of *Heſs* had a conſiderable Army in the Field, which

to

to the very laſt acted in concert with *Sueden*; beſides the Army of *France* under Marſhal *Turenne* in *Alſace*. Now the *Suede* has no other viſible Confederate but *France*, ſo remote, that if the *French* Armies ſhould by the Chance of War be put upon the Defenſive, the *Suede* may be loſt before *France* can help him. The *Dane* who then ſtood Neutral, has now declared againſt *Sueden*. The *States General* then in War with *Spain*, now confederated with *Spain* and the Empire againſt *France*, and conſequently againſt *Sueden*. I need add no more to encreaſe the wonder I before mentioned, the difficulty would rather be to ſalve and allay it, were it any thing to my purpoſe,

who

who pretend not to have the Key of the Cabinet, or to be able to penetrate the ſecret of the *Sueditſh* Councils; only this is obvious, if a leſſer Crown condeſcends to become the Penſioner of another more great and opulent than its ſelf, it will be expoſed to temptations of being ſometimes warped from her proper meaſures. Beſides the influence of the Example, for if the Crown receives gifts the Miniſters will be leſs modeſt in refuſing them, when tendred.

Add moreover, the inlets into a War are ſo many and ſo eaſie, but the outlets ſo few and difficult, that a wiſe Prince and Council obliged upon remoter conſidera-

conſiderations to a ſhew and appearance of Arms, may inſenſibly and unexpectedly be involv'd in a War, which they never in good earneſt intended. And he who propoſed to himſelf to advance his Arms to ſuch a Point and no further, may to his grief find the unruly beaſt of War ſo ungovernable, as not to be mannag'd to certain ſtops and bounds, but to tranſgreſs them all, and ſometimes throw the Rider.

And as a Prince may gradually and inſenſibly be engaged in a War which at firſt he intended not, and afterwards be further engaged in it, than he either propoſed or deſired; So

'tis ordinary for the conſequents and effects of ſuch War to redound to the prejudice of other Princes, who had no participation either in the beginning or the progreſs thereof. Thus if the *Suede* (for I ſuppoſe 'tis no offence to put ſuch a Caſe, becauſe what's laid at ſtake no man can call his own) I ſay, if the *Suede* ſhould loſe all in *Germany*, and be turned back again over the *Baltic*; This would redound greatly to the miſchief of *France*, whoſe Intereſt it is to maintain the *Suede* in *Germany* as a check and counterpoiſe upon the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the hereditary Enemy of *France*. But this conſideration reaches not *England*, becauſe that Houſe has in this laſt Age been

been under ſo ſenſible a decadency, that it gives no longer any juſt ombrage or jealouſie as formerly, of any affectation of an Univerſal Monarchy.

But yet it may greatly concern *England* into what hands the Chance of War may throw thoſe places the *Suede* now poſſeſſes. Should the Elector of *Brandenburg* inveſt himſelf in the Ports of *Pomeren*, and by that means erect a third power upon the *Baltic*: Nay ſhould the Duke of *Curland*, whoſe little Dutchy is a Fief of the Crown of *Poland*, and who of later years has affected to put in for a ſhare in the *Baltic* under the Title of Admiral of that Crown, though his de-

ſign always ſuppreſſed by the early jealouſies of thoſe greater Powers of *Denmark* and *Sueden*; ſhould he I ſay by help of the favour and conſanguinity he has with *Brandenburg* (for that Houſe married a Siſter of that Elector) added to the countenance and aſſiſtance of *Poland*, eſtabliſh a fourth Power upon the *Baltic*: All this would not ſenſibly touch *England*, for a Reaſon intimated in that Anſwer, which a Duke of *Burgundy* once made, when it was objected to him how he was no Lover of the Kings of *France*, his Reply was, on the contrary he was ſo great a Lover of them, that whereas there was one King of *France* he wiſhed there were many.

But if the *Dane* ſhould ſeize the Ports of *Pomeren*, or poſſeſs himſelf of *Stade* and *Boxtehude* in the Dutchy of *Bremen*; or ſhould he ſo far profit upon the preſent Conjuncture, as to reinſtate himſelf in the oppoſite Bank of the *Sound*, which was taken from him in the year 1658. every of theſe will alter the Caſe in reference to *England*; For 'tis evident that the dividing the Banks of the *Sound* betwixt the two emulous Crowns, as it was done by the *Roſchild* Treaty, is greatly to the ſecurity and benefit of *England*. To our ſecurity in time of War, for in caſe of a War betwixt *England* and *Holland*, if *Denmark* incline to *Holland* (which is not unreaſonable to be ſuppo-

ſed) *England*, in friendſhip with *Sueden* whileſt poſſeſſed of one Bank of the *Sound*, will in deſpight of the other two Confederates maintain the Trade into the *Baltie*, and fetch from thence thoſe materials which are neceſſary for the apparel and equippage of her Shipping. To our benefit in time of Peace, and that in reference to Trade and Commerce. For 'tis a Gain to the *Dane* to enhance the duties of the *Sound*, but 'tis the Intereſt of *Sueden* to oppoſe it, becauſe *Stockholm* and all the Ports of *Sueden*, except *Gottenburg*, being within the *Baltic*, whatever Duties are impoſed upon forein Ships in their paſſage through the *Sound*, are a burden upon the

the Trade of *Sueden*. The ſame Reaſon holds for the *Elb*, where the *Dane* has *Glucſtad* upon the one Bank, the *Suede* *Stade* and *Boxtehude* upon the other. If both Banks ſhould come into *Daniſh* hands, this would more immediately concern *Hamburgh*, and ſo much the rather becauſe of the old pretenſions the Kings of *Denmark* as Dukes of *Holſtein* have upon that City. But it will remotely concern *England*, for it will be in the power of the *Dane* to exclude us from the Trade of the *Elb* whenever he pleaſes. Which perhaps he will not do. But the Aſſurances of Princes are not to be founded upon the *Will not*, but upon the *Cannot*.

Add

Add to all this, that as it is the Intereſt of *France* to maintain *Sueden* as a ballance upon the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſo 'tis the Intereſt of *England* to preſerve *Sueden* as her proper counterpoiſe againſt the Confederate Naval Strength of *Holland* and *Denmark*.

The caſe thus ſtanding, and *Sueden* having changed the figure it lately made, when the Mediation of that Crown was propoſed in concert with *England*, by entring into the War and becoming Party; There is no Prince in *Europe* to whom it can ſo properly appertain to advance the great work of a Mediation, as to his Majeſty of *England*. The Pope not ſo fit to interpoſe in theſe *German* Controverſies, as upon

upon other conſiderations, ſo particularly upon this, becauſe by the *Munſter* and *Oſnabrug* Treaties, which are the Baſis of the Peace of *Germany*, many of the Lands of the Church and other Eccleſiaſtical Rights, were Alienated and made Secular. Which the Nuncio at that time was ſo far from conſenting to, that he entred a public Proteſt againſt it, and *Innocent* the tenth declared all the Articles relating to Religion to be nul and void. The *Venetian* State remote, and though admitted Mediator in the *Munſter* Treaty betwixt the Empire and *France*, yet was not ſo in the *Oſnabrug* Treaty betwixt the Empire and *Sueden*. Beſides the Councils of that Republic face moſt

moſt to the *Levant*, neither does ſhe intermeddle in the Affairs of the Weſtern Princes ſo much as in former Ages.

Whileſt the King of England *beſides his Power, Intereſt and Authority, ſeems to be ſelected by a coincidence of ſeveral Providential circumſtances to undertake this Work, not only Pious, but Safe, Honourable and Profitable. Safe, becauſe all the Intereſſed Princes court the Friendſhip of the Mediator; Honourable becauſe the mediating Prince becomes the* Arbiter *of others Controverſies; Profitable becauſe his Miniſters being upon the place, and privy to the ſecrets of the contending Parties, have the opportunity of eſpying advantages for ſecuring*

curing and promoting their Maſter's Intereſts.

But as in Naturals ſo in Civils, 'tis Time ripens all things: And 'tis the Wiſdome of the Head which directs the diligence of the Hand to gather the fruit in its proper ſeaſon. The laſt War of *Germany* was of thirty years continuance, and the Peace was ſeven years in treating, reckoning from the Preliminaries agreed at *Hamburgh*, to the concluſion of the Peace at *Munſter* and *Oſnabrug*. This according to humane conjectures ſeems not of that duration. But mediating Princes are moſt welcome and ſucceſsful, when the Parties are wearied with the War, as thoſe

those Physicians are most happy who come in the declension of a Disease.

FINIS.

Errata.

Page 117. *for* revolution *read* revulsion. *p.* 124. *for* defensive *read* defensible. *p.* 143. *for* left *read* lost. *p.* 151. *for* Govern *read* Government.